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**THE COLLECTED WARTIME MESSAGES
OF GENERALISSIMO CHIANG KAI-SHEK**

.

Volume One

PROLOGUE

CHINA RESISTS JAPAN

1937-1938

CHINA FIGHTS ON

1938-1940

CHINA FIGHTS AND BUILDS

1940-1941



Volume Two

CHINA FIGHTS AND BUILDS

(Continued)

CHINA FIGHTS ON WITH ALLIES

1941-1943

CHINA FIGHTS ON TO VICTORY

1943-1945

EPILOGUE

THE COLLECTED
Wartime Messages of
Generalissimo
CHIANG KAI-SHEK
1937-1945

Compiled by
CHINESE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION



Volume Two
1940 - 1945

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Generalissimo Chiang addresses Army officers

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- July 7, 1940—Third anniversary of war.
A Just War. Message to the army and people.
The Unmistakable Issues. Message to friendly nations.
Crimes and Corruption of the Japanese Militarists. Message to the Japanese people.
- July 8, 1940—*The Forces of Truth and Justice.* Broadcast to the American people.
Japanese Phrases and Pretensions. Closing address at Seventh Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang.
- July 17, 1940—Britain under Churchill's new government, yields to Japanese demands, closes Burma Road for three months.
- July 27, 1940—China concludes new trade treaty with Russia.
- Aug. 13, 1940—*The Day of Deliverance Shall Come.* Message to people in the occupied areas.
- Sept. 7, 1940—*The Power of Thrift.* Appeal to the nation to support the Thrift and Savings Movement.
- Sept. 9, 1940—Chungking proclaimed the auxiliary capital.
- Sept. 18, 1940—*Manchuria: Hell on Earth.* Message on ninth anniversary of Japan's invasion of Manchuria.
- Sept. 23, 1940—Japanese army marches into French Indo-China.
- Sept. 25, 1940—Third U.S. commercial loan to China of \$25,000,000.
- Sept. 27, 1940—Japan signs triple military alliance pact with Germany and Italy.
- Oct. 10, 1940—*The International Role of the Republic.* Message on the twenty-ninth anniversary of the Chinese Republic.

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- Oct. 16, 1940—U.S. embargoes all forms of iron and steel to Japan.
- Oct. 18, 1940—Japan's attempt to secure a "negotiated peace" fails and Britain reopens Burma Road.
- Oct. 28, 1940—China recaptures Nanning, Kwangsi Province.
- Nov. 30, 1940—U.S. extends to China \$100,000,000 credit, half for general purposes, half for currency stabilization. Hull disapproves Japan's recognition of Wang Ching-wei.
- Dec. 2, 1940—*The Nadir of Konoye's Career*. Report at the weekly memorial service of the National Government.
- Dec. 10, 1940—London announces new loan of £10,000,000 to China.
- Jan. 1, 1941—*Light of New Hope*. New Year's message.
- Jan. 12, 1941—Chungking announces a third Chinese-Soviet trade pact.
- Jan. 18, 1941—*Burma-Chinese Relationship*. Reply to a letter of greeting written by U Ba Lwin, Burmese leader.
- Jan. 27, 1941—*The Function of Revolutionary Discipline*. Speech at weekly assembly of the National Government.
- March 1, 1941—*National Defense First*. Speech at inaugural session of Second People's Political Council.
- March 6, 1941—*Again National Solidarity*. Report to People's Political Council on the Government's attitude toward the demands of the Chinese Communist Party.
- March 11, 1941—President Roosevelt signs Lend-Lease Bill.
- March 12, 1941—*Future Objectives of Spiritual Mobilization*. Broadcast on second anniversary of the Spiritual Mobilization Movement.
- March 24, 1941—*The Kuomintang and National Leadership*. Opening address at the Eighth Plenary Session of the Central Executive and Central Supervisory committees of the Kuomintang Party.
- April 6, 1941—Germany invades Yugoslavia.
- April 13, 1941—Russia and Japan sign a four-point neutrality pact.
- April 27, 1941—Greece falls.

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- May 10, 1941—*Bonds Between China and America*. Address at farewell dinner to Ambassador Nelson T. Johnson.
- May 31, 1941—Hull-Quo exchange of letters states U.S. intention of relinquishing extraterritorial rights and other special privileges in China.
- June 16, 1941—*A Balanced Development in National Finances*. Address at the Third National Financial Conference.
- June 22, 1941—Germany invades Soviet Union.
- July 1, 1941—Chungking severs diplomatic relations with Berlin and Rome after Axis recognition of Wang Ching-wei regime.

FIFTH YEAR

- July 7, 1941—Fourth anniversary of war.
Stronger Co-operation of Democracies Against Aggression. Message to friendly nations.
That All May Not Be Lost in the Hour of Triumph. Message to the army and people.
- July 14, 1941—British-Chinese notes reaffirm Britain's willingness to abolish extraterritoriality.
- July 25, 1941—Washington freezes all Japanese assets in America. Britain takes similar action a day later.
- Aug. 13, 1941—*The Time Sets Against the Aggressor*. Message marking fourth anniversary of fighting in Shanghai.
- Aug. 14, 1941—Roosevelt and Churchill proclaim Atlantic Charter and eight-point peace program.
- Sept. 15, 1941—30,000 puppet Nanking troops mutiny.
- Sept. 18, 1941—*The Northeast and Territorial Integrity*. Message on tenth anniversary of Japanese occupation of Manchuria.
- Oct. 1, 1941—Chinese score big victory in Second Battle of Changsha.
- Oct. 10, 1941—*Vigilance and Discipline*. Message to the nation on thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Republic.

CHRONOLOGY

- Oct. 11, 1941—Chinese reoccupy Ichang; forced to abandon it two days later after enemy's use of poison gas.
- Oct. 20, 1941—*Engineers' Role in National Crisis*. Message to meeting of Association of Chinese Engineers.
- Nov. 1, 1941—Chinese reoccupy Chengchow.
- Nov. 7, 1941—*Growing Unity Among Anti-aggression Nations*. Interview with a group of foreign correspondents.
- Nov. 17, 1941—Roosevelt confers with Kurusu.
America's Chance to Strike at Japan. Opening address to Second Session of Second People's Political Council.
In Defense of Freedom. Messages to the United States, Britain and Australia.
- Nov. 24, 1941—China objects to limited Pacific settlement.
- Dec. 7, 1941—Japanese naval and air forces launch surprise attack on Pearl Harbor.
- Dec. 8, 1941—*All We Are and All We Have*. Exchange with President Roosevelt on day after Pearl Harbor.
- Dec. 9, 1941—China declares war on Japan, Germany and Italy, pledges full aid to Allies.
- Dec. 10, 1941—*The Common Struggle Against the Axis*. Message to the army and people at home and abroad.
- Dec. 11, 1941—*Assistance to Friendly Governments*. Message to members of Chinese communities overseas.
- Dec. 15, 1941—*Increase Our Fighting Strength*. Opening address at Ninth Plenary Session of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee.
- Dec. 25, 1941—Hong Kong surrenders.
Pacific military council called in Chungking by Generalissimo Chiang with Major-Gen. George H. Brett (U.S.) and Gen. Sir Archibald P. Wavell (Britain) attending.
- Dec. 31, 1941—*A New Outlook and New Efforts*. New Year's message to the Chinese people and army.
Solidarity Between Burma and China. Message to the people of Burma.
- Jan. 2, 1942—"Declaration by United States" signed in Washing-

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ton by U.S., Britain, Russia, China and twenty-two other nations.

- Jan. 4, 1942—China frustrates a third time Japan's attempt to take Changsha; enemy suffers debacle.
- Feb. 9, 1942—*Chinese and Indians Have the Same Destiny*. Two speeches made in India during his visit there.
- Feb. 12, 1942—New U.S. \$500,000,000 loan made to China.
- Feb. 15, 1942—Singapore surrenders to Japan.
- Feb. 18, 1942—*A Wartime Way of Life*. Message to the nation on eighth anniversary of the New Life Movement.
- Feb. 21, 1942—*One Half of the World's People*. Farewell message to the Indian people.
- Feb. 28, 1942—*To the Flying Tigers, Salute*. Speech at dinner for the American Volunteer Group.
- March 7, 1942—Bandung, Java, falls.
- March 9, 1942—Rangoon falls.
- March 12, 1942—*The Duties of a Vanguard*. Broadcast to the nation on third anniversary of the Spiritual Mobilization Movement.
- March 19, 1942—U.S. Lieut.-Gen. Joseph W. Stilwell, appointed commander of 5th and 6th Chinese armies fighting in Burma.
- March 20, 1942—*Strike From Every Vantage Point*. Message to the people of Australia.
- April 9, 1942—Bataan falls after three months' fighting.
- April 18, 1942—Tokyo and other cities bombed by U.S. planes.
- April 30, 1942—Lashio falls.
- May 4, 1942—*Of Man and Material*. Broadcast on National Mobilization Act.
- May 15, 1942—Japan opens new drive in Chekiang Province to destroy Allied air bases in China.
- May 17, 1942—Chinese check Japanese attempt to invade Yunnan Province via Burma Road.
- May 19, 1942—Government spokesman issues urgent appeal to U.S. for bombers and pursuit planes.
- May 31, 1942—*Morale plus Equipment*. Broadcast to America at the invitation of the U.S. War Department.

CHRONOLOGY

- June 2, 1942—*The Importance of Food Policy in Wartime*. Address at the National Food Administration Conference.
- June 27, 1942—Japanese take Lishui in Chekiang Province, the last of three important "bomb-Japan" bases.
- June 29, 1942—Japanese routed from Shansi-Honan border.
- July 4, 1942—A.V.G. reorganized as United States Army Air Force in China.

SIXTH YEAR

- July 7, 1942—Fifth anniversary of war.
China's War, A World War. Broadcast to the Chinese people and army.
- Aug. 11, 1942—U.S. Air Force in China raids five major Japanese bases at Canton, Hankow, Nanchang, Hsienning and Yochow.
- Aug. 14, 1942—*To the Chinese Expeditionary Forces in India*. Instructions to the officers and men of the Chinese Expeditionary Forces in India.
- Aug. 29, 1942—Chinese retake Chuhsien and Lishui, climaxing a series of victories in counter-offensive along Kiangsi-Chekiang Railway.
- Oct. 3, 1942—*A Friend from Distant Lands*. Speech at dinner to welcome Wendell L. Willkie.
- Oct. 9, 1942—U.S. and Britain announce readiness to negotiate for abolition of extraterritorial rights in China.
- Oct. 10, 1942—*Loyalty and Reciprocity*. Message to the nation on thirty-first anniversary of the Chinese Republic.
- Oct. 13, 1942—*A Beautiful and Touching Gesture*. Message to President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill on relinquishment of extraterritorial rights in China.
- Oct. 22, 1942—*National and Allied Co-operation*. Opening address at Third People's Political Council.
- Oct. 31, 1942—*The End of Unequal Treaties in China*. Closing address at Third People's Political Council.
- Nov. 12, 1942—*From Man's Oldest Parliament*. Speech at dinner to welcome the British Parliamentary Mission.

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- Nov. 17, 1942—*China's After-War Aims*. Message to the New York Herald Tribune Forum on Current Problems.
- Nov. 27, 1942—Madame Chiang Kai-shek arrives in U.S.
- Dec. 7, 1942—First anniversary of Pearl Harbor.
The Comradeship of the United Nations. Messages to President Roosevelt and Prime Ministers Churchill, Curtin and King.
- Dec. 25, 1942—*A New World Built on Christian Love*. Christmas message to Allied officers and men in Chungking.
- Dec. 31, 1942—Chinese Military Mission to U.S. recalled.
- Jan. 11, 1943—U.S. and Britain sign treaties with China abolishing extraterritorial rights and special privileges.
New Treaties: New Responsibilities. Message to the people and army of China.
- Jan. 27, 1943—President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill conclude ten day conference near Casablanca.
- Feb. 9, 1943—Battle for Guadalcanal ends in Allied victory.
- Feb. 18, 1943—Mme. Chiang addresses both houses of U.S. Congress.
Our Spiritual Force. Broadcast to the nation on ninth anniversary of the New Life Movement.
- Feb. 26, 1943—*To the People of Thailand*. Message to the armed forces and people of Thailand.
- April 20, 1943—Details of Doolittle raid revealed by U.S. War Department.
- April 28, 1943—Generalissimo Chiang reveals that entire populations of Chinese coastal areas were wiped out by Japanese troops for giving succor to Doolittle's men.
- May 12, 1943—Battle in North Africa ends with complete Allied victory in Tunisia.
- May 19, 1943—Hearings begin before House Immigration and Naturalization Committee on repeal of Chinese exclusion laws.
- May 20, 1943—Japanese start all-out offensive along Hupeh-Hunan border, southwest from Ichang and northwest from Tungting Lake.

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- May 30, 1943—Chinese counter-offensive stops Japanese drives toward Chungking.
- June 1, 1943—Aided by Chinese and U.S. Army Air Forces, Chinese route five enemy divisions southwest of Ichang.
- June 10, 1943—Washington announces agreement reached among China, U.S., Britain and U.S.S.R. on Inter-Allied Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.
- June 16, 1943—Mme. Chiang addresses both houses of Canadian Parliament.
- June 17, 1943—Chinese military spokesman announces conclusion of western Hupeh and northern Hunan campaign with 40,000 Japs dead and wounded.

SEVENTH YEAR

- July 7, 1943—Sixth anniversary of war.
Six Years of Sacrifices. Message to the nation.
To the Peoples of the United Nations.
- July 9, 1943—10,000 Japs attack Chinese positions in Taiheng Mountains.
- July 19, 1943—U.S. planes bomb Paramushiro Island for first time in the war.
- Aug. 1, 1943—China severs diplomatic relations with Vichy France.
- Aug. 2, 1943—Lin Sen, 79-year-old President of China, dies.
- Aug. 18, 1943—President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill meet in Quebec, Canada, for their sixth conference of the war, participated in by Foreign Minister T. V. Soong of China.
- Aug. 24, 1943—Joint Roosevelt-Churchill statement at close of Quebec Conference declares that military discussions "turned very largely upon the war against Japan and the bringing of effective aid to China."
- Aug. 25, 1943—Allied Southeast Asia Command created under Lord Mountbatten.
- Sept. 9, 1943—Italy's unconditional surrender to Allies announced. Armistice was signed on September 3.

CHRONOLOGY

- Sept. 12, 1943—Decision to convene a People's Congress within one year after the conclusion of the war announced by the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Fifth Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang.
- Sept. 13, 1943—Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek unanimously elected President of China.
A Political Problem. Instructions for the settlement of the problem of the Chinese Communist Party.
- Sept. 18, 1943—*The State of the Nation.* Address at inaugural sessions of the second convention of the Third People's Political Council.
- Oct. 10, 1943—*The People and the State.* Message on the thirty-second anniversary of the Republic and upon his inauguration as President of the Republic of China.
- Oct. 29, 1943—Chinese stop Japanese in East China drive begun October 1, retaking Siaofeng, northwest of Hangchow.
- Nov. 1, 1943—Joint four-power (U.S., Britain, Russia and China) declaration issued at conclusion of Moscow Conference (Oct. 20-30).
Japanese launch new drive into Hunan "rice bowl" region.
Chinese forces under General Stilwell move into north Burma, guarding construction of Ledo Road.
- Nov. 5, 1943—Generalissimo Chiang concludes five-day military conference with American and British war leaders.
- Nov. 12, 1943—*Toward Constitutionalism.* Address at inaugural meeting of Committee for Establishment of Constitutional Government on Sun Yat-sen's birthday anniversary.
- Nov. 21, 1943—Japanese make determined effort to encircle Changteh, west of Tungting Lake, Hunan.
- Dec. 1, 1943—Cairo Conference (Nov. 22-26) of Chiang, Roosevelt and Churchill announced.
- Dec. 3, 1943—Moscow announces meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill with Stalin at Teheran as terminated.

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- Changteh lost to enemy after fifteen-day siege.
- Dec. 9, 1943—Chinese recapture Changteh, with support of U.S. 14th Air Force, pushing enemy back in northern Hunan.
- Dec. 17, 1943—President Roosevelt signs bill repealing 60-year-old Chinese Exclusion Laws.
- Dec. 24, 1943—*The Truth of Life*. Christmas Eve broadcast to wounded and sick soldiers.
- Jan. 1, 1944—*A Solid Foundation for Victory*. Radio address to Chinese army and people.
- Jan. 2, 1944—Chinese push through Hukawng Valley, North Burma.
- Jan. 11, 1944—*From Students to Soldiers*. Speech to five hundred student volunteers.
- Jan. 20, 1944—116-mile road-link connecting Ledo Road from India with roads in North Burma completed.
- Feb. 1, 1944—President Roosevelt issues statement on American objectives in Asia.
U.S. forces invade Marshall Islands, fighting on Japanese territory for first time in the war.
- Feb. 4, 1944—U.S. naval task force attacks Paramushiro for the first time.
- Feb. 16, 1944—Truk, Japanese base in South Pacific, attacked by task forces of U.S. Pacific Fleet.
- March 6, 1944—Chinese capture Maingkwan, strategic town in Hukawng Valley, Burma.
- March 17, 1944—Four enemy columns open drive across upper Chindwin River toward India.
- April 1, 1944—Soviet Union renews agreement on fishing rights with Japan.
- April 18, 1944—Japanese open major offensive in Honan, near Chengchow (Chenghsien), to clear Chinese-held sections of Peiping-Hankow line.
- April 30, 1944—Japanese open new offensive in Anhwei, about 190 miles northwest of Nanking.
- May 10, 1944—Chinese forces strike across Salween River in Yunnan to join Gen. Stilwell's Chinese-American troops in Burma.

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- May 12, 1944—Japanese win control of entire length of Peiping-Hankow Railway after three-week offensive, surround Loyang on east-west Lunghai Railway.
- May 17, 1944—Lin Tsu-han, Chinese Communist representative, arrives in Chungking to confer with President Chiang.
- May 18, 1944—Allies seize Myitkyina airdrome and attack city, main Japanese base in North Burma.
- May 24, 1944—Chinese break enemy drive in Honan, recapture sectors of Peiping-Hankow Railway.
- May 29, 1944—Japanese open new offensive in Hunan in attempt to seize control of Hankow-Canton Railroad.
- May 30, 1944—U.S. invites Britain, Russia and China to participate in informal conversations on formation of an international organization to maintain post-war security.
- June 6, 1944—Allies invade western Europe.
- June 11, 1944—Chinese occupy Lungling, second major enemy base in Yunnan.
- June 14, 1944—American forces land on Saipan Island.
- June 15, 1944—President Roosevelt advances plan for post-war international security calling for the formation of "a fully representative organization of peace-loving countries."
- June 15, 1944—Japan bombed for the second time in the war. B-29 Superfortresses of the newly formed 20th U.S. Air Force used for the first time; also first direct attack on Japan Proper from China bases.
- June 16, 1944—Chinese capture Kamaing, North Burma.
- June 17, 1944—Japanese bypass besieged Changsha, push on toward Hengyang, key city on Hankow-Canton Railroad.
- June 18, 1944—Changsha falls following concentrated attack by more than 50,000 enemy troops under cover of planes and artillery.
- June 20, 1944—U.S. Vice-President Henry A. Wallace arrives in Chungking for conference with President Chiang.
- June 24, 1944—*China and the United States*. Joint release issued

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- by Gen. Chiang and Vice-President Wallace at the conclusion of the latter's visit in Chungking.
- June 27, 1944—Chinese and British-Indian forces capture Mogaung, North Burma.
- July 1, 1944—Japanese launch offensive northward from Canton.
- July 2, 1944—Vice-President Wallace leaves Lanchow for U.S.

EIGHTH YEAR

- July 7, 1944—Seventh anniversary of war.
Our Seven Years' Fight. Message to the nation.
- July 9, 1944—U.S. forces complete conquest of Saipan.
- July 20, 1944—Japanese Tojo Cabinet resigns.
- July 21, 1944—U.S. forces land on Guam.
- July 22, 1944—Japanese Cabinet under General Koiso formed.
- Aug. 1, 1944—Habeas Corpus Act enforced.
Sino-Mexican Treaty of Amity signed in Mexico City.
- Aug. 4, 1944—Allies capture Myitkyina, important North Burma town.
- Aug. 8, 1944—Hengyang falls to enemy after 47-day siege.
- Aug. 20, 1944—Washington Conversations on International Organization open at Dumbarton Oaks.
- Sept. 1, 1944—Seven Japanese divisions launch major offensive along 80-mile front from Hengyang toward Kweilin.
- Sept. 5, 1944—*Before Final Victory.* Opening address at Third Plenary Session of the Third People's Political Council.
- Sept. 6, 1944—Donald M. Nelson, American WPB chairman, and Major-Gen. Patrick J. Hurley arrive in Chungking on mission for President Roosevelt.
- Sept. 9, 1944—Gen. Stilwell's Chinese-American forces and Chinese units from Salween area make their first juncture between Myitkyina and Tengchung.
- Sept. 11, 1944—President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill arrive in Quebec for second conference.
- Sept. 14, 1944—Chinese recapture Tengchung, Yunnan, first large city liberated in seven years of war.

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- Sept. 16, 1944—*Basis for Political Settlement*. Address at Third Plenary Session of the Third People's Political Council.
- Sept. 29, 1944—Chinese phase of Dumbarton Oaks Conference opens.
- Oct. 10, 1944—*Success in War and Revolution*. Message to the nation on thirty-third anniversary of the Chinese Republic.
- Oct. 19, 1944—U.S. forces under Gen. MacArthur land on the Philippines.
- Oct. 28, 1944—Gen. Stilwell recalled to the U.S.; Major-Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer appointed commander of U.S. forces in China, and Lt.-Gen. Daniel I. Sultan, commander of Burma-India forces.
- Nov. 1, 1944—President Roosevelt confirms report of resignation of Clarence E. Gauss, U.S. Ambassador to China since 1941.
- Nov. 3, 1944—Chinese recapture Lungling, Burma Road city.
- Nov. 12, 1944—Kweilin lost to enemy.
The Party and the Nation. Message on the fiftieth anniversary of the Kuomintang.
- Nov. 20, 1944—Changes in Chinese Government in move to strengthen war effort.
- Nov. 26, 1944—Nanning (Yungning) in Kwangsi, falls to Japanese.
- Nov. 27, 1944—Major-Gen. Patrick J. Hurley made U.S. Ambassador to China.
- Dec. 2, 1944—Chinese recapture Chefang, last important Japanese-held town on Burma Road in Yunnan Province.
- Dec. 11, 1944—Chinese clear Kweichow Province of Japanese.
- Dec. 15, 1944—Chinese capture enemy base of Bhamo, Burma.
- Dec. 24, 1944—*Faith in Victory*. Broadcast message on Christmas Eve.
- Dec. 31, 1944—*Victory and Democracy*. Message to the people on New Year's Eve.
- Jan. 5, 1945—*The Task Before Us*. Address at New Year dinner to Allied officers.

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- Jan. 15, 1945—Chinese take Namhkam, last Burma town on Ledo-Burma Road.
- Jan. 20, 1945—Chinese retake Wanting; new Myitkyina-Teng-chung road opens.
- Jan. 22, 1945—Ledo-Burma Road entirely cleared of Japs.
- Jan. 28, 1945—First convoy to China in almost three years rolls into Wanting over Leo-Burma Road. President Chiang names highway Stilwell Road.
- Kukong, Kwangtung provisional capital, on Canton-Hankow Railway, falls.
- A Road to Victory.* Broadcast to the United States on the opening of the Stilwell Road.
- Feb. 9, 1945—Chinese Army Headquarters established in Kunming. General Ho Ying-chin named commander-in-chief of ground forces.
- Feb. 10, 1945—Koiso Cabinet again reshuffled.
- Feb. 12, 1945—Big Three Crimea (Yalta) Conference announced.
- Feb. 15, 1945—U.S. naval task force attacks Tokyo.
- China announces plans for conscripting 500,000 men.
- Feb. 21, 1945—Second Koiso Cabinet reshuffle in eleven days.
- March 1, 1945—*Unity and Constitutionalism.* Address at opening meeting of Preparatory Commission for Inauguration of Constitutional Government.
- March 5, 1945—U.S. Government, on behalf of the other sponsoring powers—Britain, Russia and China—invites thirty-nine nations to San Francisco Conference.
- March 7, 1945—Chinese recapture old Burma Road terminus of Lashio.
- March 16, 1945—Battle of Iwo Jima ends.
- March 18, 1945—Chinese take Hsipaw, Burma Road junction.
- March 20, 1945—Mandalay falls to British and Indian troops after twelve-day siege.
- March 29, 1945—Nanchang recaptured by Chinese.
- April 1, 1945—U.S. troops land on Okinawa, main island of Liuchius (Ryukyus).

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- April 2, 1945—Exchange of ratifications of Sino-Canadian Treaty in Chungking.
- April 5, 1945—Soviet Russia denounces its neutrality pact with Japan. MacArthur and Nimitz named U.S. commanders, respectively, of army and navy forces in Pacific. Japanese open drive in Shensi.
- April 6, 1945—Chinese launch counter-offensive in Shensi.
- April 7, 1945—New Japanese Premier Admiral Suzuki forms "battle" cabinet.
- April 12, 1945—President Franklin Delano Roosevelt dies at Warm Springs, Ga.
Vice-President Harry S. Truman takes office.
- April 13, 1945—Chinese recapture of Laohokow announced; its loss was admitted day before.
A Great Loss to the World. Message of condolence on the death of President Roosevelt.
- April 25, 1945—United Nations Conference on International Organization opens in San Francisco.
- May 5, 1945—*Building a New China.* Opening address at Sixth National Congress of the Kuomintang.
- May 7, 1945—Germany surrenders unconditionally to the Allies.
- May 8, 1945—V-E Day proclaimed.
- May 10, 1945—*This Unprecedented Triumph.* V-E Day messages to Allied leaders.
Chinese troops smash enemy drive on Chihkiang, Hunan.
- May 12, 1945—*Victory in Europe.* Address at reception celebrating the Allied victory in Europe.
- May 13, 1945—Chinese troops enter Foochow.
- May 17, 1945—President Chiang reelected *Tsungtsai* (Director-General) of Kuomintang.
- May 27, 1945—Chinese recapture Nanning, southern Kwangsi.
- May 31, 1945—T. V. Soong appointed President of the Executive Yuan (Premier).
- June 18, 1945—Chinese recapture port of Wenchow.
- June 21, 1945—U.S. forces conquer Okinawa.
- June 22, 1945—Chinese troops enter Liuchow, Kwangsi Province.

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- June 26, 1945—San Francisco Conference closes after signing of World Charter by fifty nations.
- June 27, 1945—General MacArthur declares conquest of Luzon complete.
- June 29, 1945—Chinese forces recapture Liuchow.
- June 30, 1945—Premier T. V. Soong arrives in Moscow for conversations with Premier Stalin.
- July 5, 1945—Gen. MacArthur announces liberation of entire Philippines.

N I N T H Y E A R

- July 7, 1945—Eighth anniversary of war.
Eight Years of War. Message to the Chinese people and army.
Our Government's Two Obligations. Opening address at Fourth People's Political Council.
- July 12, 1945—Gen. George Stratemeyer named commanding general of U.S. Air Forces in the China Theater.
- July 14, 1945—Gen. Claire L. Chennault retires as commander of U.S. 14th Air Force.
- July 17, 1945—American Third Fleet, joined by British Pacific Fleet, attacks Tokyo area.
- July 18, 1945—Chinese completely recapture Kanhsien, Kiangsi.
- July 20, 1945—Chinese take Yiyang, south of Lake Tungting.
- July 26, 1945—China, U.S. and Britain issue the Potsdam Declaration, calling on Japan to quit now or be destroyed.
- July 27, 1945—Chinese recapture Kweilin, Kwangsi.
- July 31, 1945—Supreme National Defense Council approves China's adherence to the United Nations Charter and the Bretton Woods Agreement.
- Aug. 6, 1945—President Truman announces use of atomic bomb on Hiroshima, sixteen hours after attack.
- Aug. 7, 1945—Chinese recapture South China port of Yeungkong on "invasion coast."
- Aug. 8, 1945—Soviet Union declares war on Japan, attacks enemy on Manchurian border.
- Aug. 9, 1945—Second atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki.

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- A New Ally Against Japan.* Message to Generalissimo Stalin on Soviet declaration of war against Japan.
- Aug. 10, 1945—Japan offers to accept Potsdam surrender terms provided Allies give assurance regarding sovereignty of emperor.
- Aug. 11, 1945—U.S., China, Britain and Russia agree to Jap surrender proposal if emperor takes orders from supreme Allied commander.
- Aug. 14, 1945—China and Soviet Union sign 30-year Treaty of Friendship and Alliance and series of supplementary agreements.
Japan surrenders, ending World War II and China's eight-year War of Resistance against Japanese aggression.
- Aug. 15, 1945—*This Day of Victory.* Radio messages to the peace-loving nations of the world and the soldiers and civilians of China on the surrender of Japan.
Our Complete Victory. Congratulatory message to President Truman on the surrender of Japan.
- Aug. 16, 1945—Generalissimo Chiang invites Chinese Communist leader Mao Tse-tung to come to Chungking for conference, issues orders to Gen. Yasutsugu Okamura, supreme commander of Japanese forces in China, to cease all hostilities.
- Aug. 17, 1945—Prince Naruhiko Higashi-kuni named to head new Japanese Cabinet.
- Aug. 19, 1945—Japanese surrender emissaries fly to Manila to receive instructions from Gen. MacArthur, Supreme Allied Commander.
- Aug. 21, 1945—Japanese emissaries arrive at Chihkiang to receive instructions from Gen. Ho Ying-chin for surrender to China.
- Aug. 23, 1945—Soviet Union announces entire Japanese Kwantung Army surrendered on August 19.
- Aug. 24, 1945—*National Independence and Racial Equality.* Address to joint session of Supreme National Defense

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- Council and Kuomintang Central Executive Committee.
- Aug. 26, 1945—Texts of Chinese-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance and related agreements, ratified on Aug. 25, made public.
Communist leader Mao Tse-tung agrees to come to Chungking in response to third invitation.
- Aug. 28, 1945—First American landing in Japan made at Atsugi airdrome, sixteen miles southwest of Tokyo.
- Aug. 30, 1945—Occupation of Japan by American troops begins.
- Aug. 31, 1945—Chinese First Army liberates Canton.
- Sept. 2, 1945—Formal unconditional surrender of Japan to the Allies signed on board the U.S.S. "Missouri" in Tokyo Bay. Gen. MacArthur signs as Supreme Allied Commander; Gen. Hsu Yung-chang signs as representative of China.
- Sept. 3, 1945—V-J Day.
Chungking begins three-day celebration.
The Attainment of Final Victory. V-J Day message to the nation.

EPILOGUE

- Sept. 5, 1945—First Chinese troops arrive in Nanking to take over city.
- Sept. 8, 1945—Gen. MacArthur enters Tokyo.
- Sept. 9, 1945—Gen. Yo Ying-chin receives formal surrender of the Japanese in China from Gen. Okamura in Nanking.
- Sept. 10, 1945—Gen. MacArthur orders dissolution of the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters, effective Sept. 13.
- Sept. 11, 1945—Gen. MacArthur issues first list of Pacific War criminals, orders arrest of forty.
- Sept. 12, 1945—Chinese take over control of Shanghai, complete reoccupation of Canton.
- Sept. 18, 1945—*The Northeast—Fourteen Years After.* Message to the nation on fourteenth anniversary of the Mukden incident.

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III

China Fights and Builds **(1940-1941)** *Continued*

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A Just War

A message to the army and people on the third anniversary of the war, July 7, 1940.

JULY 7, 1940.

THE Chinese people's sacred War of Resistance enters today upon its fourth year. The enemy said at first that three months would be sufficient for the conquest of China. Now they have been fighting for three years and their illusory hopes of an early conclusion to the war have been smashed by the heroic striving of our whole army and people. The Japanese militarists' dallying with shameless traitors and their organization of several puppet administrations have availed them nothing toward escape from their disillusioned and shiftless state of mind. Our stout and persevering resistance has compelled the Japanese to watch the European war now in progress for ten months without moving a finger to fish in those troubled waters, and now they have reason to fear the war will come to an end before they have any chance to try their luck in that field. Recently there has been a general outcry in Japan for a speedy conclusion to the "China Incident"—a clear indication of the alarm whether we observe the situation at home, in Japan, or in the world at large, the enemy is seen to be reduced to a degree of embarrassment and exhaustion in singular contrast to our confidence in final victory. This is to be put down to the hard struggle and magnanimous sacrifices of our soldiers and other countrymen. I, in the position of supreme leader entrusted me by my fellow-countrymen, looking back over the past three years of fighting, place at the very head of all I have to say today a commemorative salute of respect for all those who have laid down their lives for the country and resistance.

Our resistance is fought to defend our national independence and world justice, to right a great wrong, and to oppose aggression. It is pre-eminently worthy among modern wars of being called a "just war." Directly it began we solemnly resolved to stop nowhere short of the goal we saw before us; no hardships were to be avoided,

no sacrifices held too great: all were prepared to do the utmost required by loyalty to the Three Principles of the People and if necessary to give their lives for the Republic. Vainly seeking to conceal his weaknesses by means of blind inroads and indiscriminate bombing, the enemy only reveals his anxiety and despair the more clearly, making himself a laughing-stock for the world. He succeeds only in increasing the indignation of our people and intensifying the sufferings of his own people.

All of us, whether at the front, in the rear or even abroad, have only to strive on with one heart and one will, mindful of the blood-won lessons these years of war have afforded us, resolve not to slacken our efforts until the enemy is driven from our soil—thus the enemy's utter ruin will inescapably overtake him in due course of time. On this significant anniversary I wish to express the hope that you will all keep in mind the greatness of the revolutionary directions bequeathed us by the *Tsungli* and the rich heritage left us by our ancestors, so that the moment when we were compelled to resist three years ago may remain decisive in our national policy, and that by fulfilling it with all vigor we may maintain the character of the nation and keep alive the spirit of rectitude among men. I hope still more that our army and people will recall the tragic history of all that has been suffered during the past three years, each man bethinking himself of what he owes himself, of whether he need feel shame to call himself a citizen of this age, a descendant of Hwang Ti and a disciple of Dr. Sun, Father of the Republic.

During the past three years I have repeatedly done my best to inform you of the facts about resistance; with what I have said you may correlate your own observations of events. Today, at the opening of this fourth year of war, let us review the past situation at home and abroad, and more especially the phenomena of the year just gone by in order that we may take stock of the decline of the enemy's strength, of the rapid approach of victory and the necessity of our struggling steadily on. In surveying the situation on the enemy side we must especially mark the statement regarding the "New Order in East Asia" made at the time of the first Konoye Cabinet. It has been a main factor in the production of internal anomalies in Japan and her isolation among the nations. A sequel to it was the so-called "Outline of Provisions for Readjustment of

Relations between Japan and China," the secret pact concluded by the Japanese with Wang Ching-wei. Since the Mukden Incident, the Japanese militarists have been continually on the watch for cracks in our defenses of which to take advantage, but before the statement appeared their lust for domination found only fragmentary expression, their ambitions were half-veiled and not wholly apparent. When the day of the Konoye statement came, however, they were seen to be absolutely without decency in the complete avowal of their determination to trample on freedom in the world. From it we understood clearly it was their intention entirely to deprive us of our territory and enslave all succeeding generations of our race. Subsequently the revelation of the Wang agreement showed the Konoye plan advanced another stage in concrete application. It demonstrated the enemy's intention of making himself master of our country body and soul, as it were. Our whole people were to become their slaves and chattels, with no freedom of action whatever. This complete revelation of a prodigious scheme of conquest angered the Chinese people as much as it shocked the world. It intensified our determination to defend ourselves and added to the internal disagreements and contradictions in Japan. From that time the merest child among the Chinese people knew that it was necessary to fight to the death if our independence and existence were to be maintained.

Let us take one of the simplest and apparently least important of the points in Konoye's statement—the so-called demand for freedom of residence and commercial transactions of Japanese subjects in China. This would amount in practice to the cluttering up of every district and village in the country with Japanese ronin and spies; everywhere there would be Japanese special service men under whose surveillance the Chinese people would have no freedom of mind or body. Only such traitors as Wang Ching-wei pretend to be ignorant of the obvious facts. No individual among our people or those abroad fails to see the truth with perfect clarity. All countries having relations with the Far East know that Konoye's plan would imply the domination of Eastern Asia, the exclusion of European and American interests and the reduction of Pacific affairs to a state of chaos. When Konoye resigned he was succeeded by Hiranuma and Yonai. These successors, being all dependent upon the militarists, naturally took up Konoye's lead and outdid him in

his own line. For the war-oppressed Japanese people there was despair of release from their sufferings.

The program and aims of our resistance are clear. They consist of nothing beyond the preservation of our people's existence and independence. What we are putting our whole strength to strive for is the complete evacuation of the enemy forces from our soil and the restoration of our territorial and administrative integrity. Much as we hate the Japanese militarists, we have no intention of harboring undying hatred for the innocent Japanese people. Since the Japanese ambitions became clear for what they are through the exposure of the notorious treaty signed by Wang Ching-wei and his recognition of the "New Order in East Asia" we had no other course than to rise up to strike at this heaven-flouting ringleader of aggressors, against whom every nation in the world is on its guard. The Japanese people, meanwhile, have known no better than to follow blindly wherever the militarists have led them, throwing themselves into the grave prepared for them. Among them, therefore, and in the ranks of the Japanese armies anti-war feeling and disgust with the war have grown more intense from day to day. While the morale of the invaders has thus been sinking, political conditions in Japan have been as steadily deteriorating. In foreign relations Japan's isolation has become perilous. All this is due to the Konoye statement.

The military, political, economic and diplomatic symptoms of the enemy's critical plight are clearer now than even a year previously. Speaking of the military aspect, it may be remarked that the enemy's capacity for the offensive in both the south and north war areas has notably declined. The appointment of Nishio as Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Expeditionary Forces in an attempt to secure unity of command failed to achieve the desired effect, for morale was already too badly impaired. For our part, our fighting experience has been enriched and we have frequently been able to deal the enemy blows of unexpected force with troops very poorly equipped. During the year past the enemy has succeeded in taking from us only one strategic point, Nanning—and that at great expense. Elsewhere in the Yellow, Yangtze and Pearl river areas they have gained nothing. In southern Shansi at Luliang, in the T'aihang and Chungt'iao hills the enemy has tasted the sting of our counter-

mopping-up operations and has been unable to withstand them. Apart from this there was the victory of last September to November in northern Hunan, that of March and April this year at Wuyuan in Suiyuan, and that of April and May in Honan and Hupeh. On each occasion the enemy casualties were severe. Recently the battles fought on the west bank of the Han River, at Ichang and Hsiangyang, have been proceeding for two months or more. The enemy has not definitely occupied any point of real value: he has everywhere been foiled by our "magnetic tactics." The repeated loss and recapture of Kaifeng and Hsinyang has displayed our hold on the initiative. A year of fighting has again and again revealed the vast discrepancy between the comparative strengths of the Japanese and ourselves in the past and now. This is at bottom to be put down to the vagueness of the ideas the Japanese have of what they are fighting for with the result that a degeneration of discipline and the will to fight has set in among their soldiery, while we have proved able to exchange a passive attitude for an active one in our strategy—we have taken to attacking where once we only stood on the defensive. At the same time our fighting experience has been enriched, our hostility to the Japanese has been intensified, the topographical element in the field has increasingly favored us, so that we have continually employed our peculiar tactics of drawing out the enemy with success. In short, our power and morale have been growing and improving, while the enemy's man power and resources have been reduced almost to an end. On this momentous day at the opening of the fourth year of this War of Resistance, I am in a position to assure all my fellow-countrymen that we now can be fully confident of final victory.

In reference to politics and economics. Our political scene has since resistance began shown features of great significance; developments have taken place with a steady order of procedure toward an appointed goal. In Japan, on the other hand, where the foundation of political health had long been undermined, the war has caused chaotic confusion to attain an unheard-of degree. With us Resistance and Reconstruction have been proceeding in step: together they form a national policy subscribed to by all members of the community. This year past has seen great progress in the unification of the national will, in co-operation between army and people, in their

detestation of the enemy and his puppets, and this has been due to the formative influence of this national policy. The multifarious efforts we have put into fundamental political reform and our resolution to build a new constitutionally sound *San Min Chu I* China are features of it. In Japan political rifts have grown more striking; many cabinets have come and gone; discontent has been spreading among the people. The recent movement set on foot by Konoye for the organization of a so-called New Party is only a device whereby to achieve the enslavement of all the parties once having a separate existence, and the destruction of all the old constitutional checks on the absolutism of the militarists. The tendency that will undoubtedly result is bound to be one of extreme reaction and total lawlessness. A comparison of the effects of the war upon the enemy and ourselves shows, therefore, on our side gradual constitutional advance and on the Japanese side the further deterioration of an already decadent constitutionalism into a state of utter anarchy.

Economically speaking, China is a country of unique natural endowments, while the Japanese have made piracy their trade. Nature has provided us with the requisite conditions for fighting a protracted War of Resistance. The land is not only large in area, rich in the variety of its products and highly populous; its people are also naturally hard-working and self-denying. We need not fear blockade. Moreover we early prepared to meet the threat of blockade. Had the enemy blockaded us a year earlier than he did we should certainly have experienced considerably greater difficulties than we actually have. By the present time we have largely made our industry self-sufficient and its foundations are now secure from any effect of the Japanese blockade. We are a people finding new life in the efforts our situation calls for; as it oppresses us more and more our production creates newer and greater achievements. I once said: "Resistance will prove beneficial to the development of our whole economic system and its success." We have just resolved upon a second "three-year plan for wartime economy." I believe that men of all ranks and classes throughout the land will respond to the grave needs of the time by enhancing their enthusiasm in working for the rapid completion of the plan. The opening up of new communications, the increase of rural credit loans, the building of new factories, the increase of mining production, the

building up of our financial system, are all enterprises bearing on the development of healthy economic conditions in the rear. In Japan we see dearth of rice, coal and electricity producing effects clearly marked in the country's everyday life. The budget forced through the Diet session held this year ran to a figure as vast as 10,300,000,000 Yen. The frequent droughts, typhoons and earthquakes that have shaken Japan have further accentuated the burdens weighing upon her people. Her national debt long ago exceeded the figure supposed to mean ruin by twice as much again and more. Though they cry out for mobilization of resources they are really like men trying to fish in a dried-up pond. Paralysis of industry and social unrest are daily more acute. The contrast in this respect is, therefore, of a Japan on the one hand destined to economic collapse and a China about to achieve in the midst of difficulties an economic rebirth.

With regard to the international situation, our resistance has all along been a stabilizing force in the Far East. Had there not been these three years of resistance Japan would certainly have fished in the troubled waters of Europe after the outbreak of the war there, by carrying into effect some predatory design or other. What might have become of Far Eastern affairs policy was early determined upon not long after the war began, and it has since undergone no change. We have consistently resisted the aggression of the Japanese and we have consistently observed our international undertakings; we have consistently maintained our right to determine our foreign relations autonomously, without tolerating restrictive interference from others; we have consistently refused to join in the Anti-Comintern pact. We have held our end and duty to be the preservation for China of a free and equal status among the nations. No peace-loving nation in the world would attack us, for countries to which that name may be applied are all our friends. Multitudinous vicissitudes have convulsed the face of world affairs, but our guiding principle has remained unshaken. Our stout and resolute attitude has made us worthy of the reputation of "one standing for a righteous cause who receives much assistance." During the past year all friendly countries have continued to afford us moral and material assistance and have won our gratitude. The Japanese, on the other hand, have frequently varied the trend of their foreign policy. Their procedure in relation to other countries has grown

increasingly haphazard. Speaking only of the year just past, they began by talking of closer relations with the "Axis" Powers, then they were equally emphatic about adjusting their relations with Soviet Russia; next they were vociferating about improvement of relations with America. All of this proved nugatory. Their scheming mind was long ago seen through by the world. Now that Japan has no reserve of strength sufficient to permit her intervention in the European war she is powerless to obtain the partnership of any other country.

Today the diplomatic isolation of Japan is even more marked than a year ago. She was hard hit by the abrogation of the Commercial Treaty with America and the passing of the Embargo Legislation by the U. S. Congress. Since the American decision to build up armaments Japan's military preparedness has been confronted with a hitherto unprecedented challenge. The very basis of her national existence has been shaken, since Japanese economy depends on the one hand upon the exploitation of Chinese resources and on the other upon the purchase of machinery from America to keep up her production and military supplies. As things are, China's unceasing resistance in the occupied areas as elsewhere has prevented her obtaining raw materials from China, while the application of all her fighting forces is perturbing the Japanese in a way they can ill conceal. In the last analysis her unhappy situation and the bonds she has herself fitted to her limbs are all products of her aggression in China.

Taking all the above points together we can affirm that our resistance has by now in all respects, military, political, economic, and diplomatic, reduced the enemy to prostration. Our army and people, however, must bear clearly in mind that while self-confidence is indispensable, any slackening of effort is equally inadmissible. The more truly confident a man is the more cautious and strenuous he should be. Everybody in China realizes that if the Japanese militarists' designs were to succeed there would follow not only the destruction of our nation but also that of our race. Let us take advantage of this occasion to recall the atrocities and barbarous conduct perpetrated by the Japanese in the occupied areas. It has been such that the human mind finds it difficult to conceive. There have been cases enough in history of enmity between nations and it

has often led to war; but there is no historical precedent for the brutality and vileness of the Japanese invaders. Since the Mukden Outrage wherever they have gone they have left a trail of drugs, opium, heroin, and prostitution, banditry and roguery of all kinds. The aim of it all is to ruin the minds, morals and physique of our people. They are now carrying this behavior from the Northeastern provinces and North China into Central and South China. The unscrupulous villainy of the Japanese is beyond the power of verbal description. If we fail to exert ourselves in this struggle to the death and drive the invaders from our soil we and our descendants will lose not merely freedom but even any hope of survival. The whole people must therefore prepare to maintain, under all circumstances, the strength of a stout heart to fight the enemy to the bitter end without a day or moment of relaxation.

For three years we have been resisting; a revolutionary war is of its nature of no definite period of duration; time has, as it were, to be wrested from the struggle, fresh energy being laid in as it proceeds. In this war we have as much need to reconstruct as to drive back the enemy. I wish today once again solemnly to emphasize a number of points that demand your united efforts.

(1) The practice of Spiritual Mobilization, the strict enforcement of the Citizen's Pact, loyal observance of the Three Principles of the People, and support of the National Government, obedience to the dictates of honesty, decency, and discipline; to the end that everybody may make the interests of the nation supreme with him and be ready to sacrifice his own accordingly. The more catastrophic the changes that convulse the world, the more urgent the situation grows, the firmer and bolder we must be, building up an unshakable citadel of the spirit wherein every descendant of Hwang Ti may do his part in the hard trials that must yet precede final victory.

(2) There must be unanimous support of the military plans of the Government, acceptance of the military service regulations and ready response to the call for enlistment. Officers and men alike, and especially high ranking commanders, should feel no undue exuberance at successes nor discouragement at reverses, maintaining strict discipline and doing their full duty no matter whether their place be at the front or in the rear of the enemy, striking relentless

blows according to plan and rendering constantly more formidable the military foundation already laid.

(3) Unanimous support of the Government's political plans. We have everyone of us a share in the responsibility for advancing local autonomy and carrying into practice the new system of *hsien* administration, thus establishing a firm basis for the constitutional law of the Five Rights. This is necessary work for the building up of national strength and the concentration of the power of the people required as much for protracted resistance as for the lasting prosperity of the country. The leaders of all Party and social organizations, influential figures in local districts, and teachers in universities and schools must make themselves exemplary in all they do and say in this respect. They have to take upon themselves as their own responsibility the fulfillment of the Three Principles of the People, opposing to the Japanese and puppet schemes of political domination an indivisible loyalty and solidarity.

(4) Unanimous support of the Government's economic plans, for the concentration of resources, technical knowledge, and labor power among fellow-countrymen both at home and abroad. Production and reconstruction in the rear must be pushed forward and completed in due time. There must be endurance and self-denial in order to achieve genuine frugality and conservation of resources, the expansion of co-operative enterprises, the elimination of speculative hoarding and cornering of goods, the prevention of profiteering, getting from the soil all it can yield, and procuring an unhindered flow of commerce. At the front and in the rear it is even more imperative strictly to blockade the enemy and expand the scope of non-co-operation with the enemy and the puppets. It must be realized that the Japanese, now at the end of their tether in mind and body, and reduced to indiscriminate bombing as a mere means of intimidation, will tend to turn more and more to the expedient of economic spoliation. We must, therefore, redouble our efforts to suppress smuggling and eradicate enemy goods and to preserve our own resources from falling into enemy hands. The importance of these counter-measures is not smaller than that of frontline warfare.

(5) Unanimous reliance upon, and support of, the Government's foreign policy. Our foreign policy has been one of consistent support for justice and equity: of seeking with other nations har-

monious relations based on good faith. Ever since the Mukden Outrage there has been no change in it. With the outbreak of the war in July of 1937 we established the principle that only violators of our national and territorial sovereignty were our enemies, while those who sympathized with us or aided us were our friends. Holding fast to this central idea, we have never wavered. Every soldier and citizen must grasp this and support this national policy, that the China of Resistance may be worthy of the world's respect and not fail the expectations of friendly nations. Then will sympathy and co-operation from others be forthcoming in greater abundance for the destruction of the aggressor and the establishment of peace in the Far East and the world.

I am charged with a weighty trust by Party and nation and in accordance with it for three years I have been leading the War of Resistance. Whenever I reflect on the sacrifices made by our courageous officers and men and upon the sufferings and misery of so many of my fellow-countrymen, and of the melancholy plight of those in the occupied areas, I feel that every day that passes without victory and revenge is a day of my own personal failure to discharge my responsibility. What, however, I can reassure you all of is that the policy of resistance we have been pursuing for these three years past is absolutely sound and proper. Carried to its logical conclusion it will undoubtedly mean the victory of our revolutionary Three Principles of the People. In this faith I immerse myself in the great task.

At this time, when victory and success are near at hand, caution and circumspection are the more especially needed; and proposals favorable to Resistance and Reconstruction must be embraced and all criticism so favorable must be accepted for the guidance of responsible officials, who must exert themselves to see valuable suggestions put into practice. Thus may the souls in heaven of the *Tsungli* and the revolutionary martyrs be consoled and the fervent longings of millions of fellow-countrymen be satisfied. It is to be hoped that all in positions of military and civil responsibility, and leaders of all sections of society, will realize that the War of Resistance having come to its present stage is due to the power of the Three Principles of the People. We must, therefore, with one heart and one will adhere to those principles and personally fulfill

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their requirements. Our duty is not only resistance to Japan for the salvation of China but also for the salvation of Asia and the world. "With pure motives there can be no yielding." So must we conceive our mission and hence draw our confidence in success. We are now on the eve of victory and at the same time at the gravest stage of our struggle. Forward then, with enthusiasm increasing in proportion to the dimensions of the struggle; for the sake of China and of humanity we are to create a lasting prosperity for the future. Our solidarity and our efforts go to the fulfillment of a sacred mission which has historically fallen to be ours.

The Unmistakable Issues

*A message to friendly nations on aid to China,
delivered on the third anniversary of the war, July
7, 1940.*

JULY 7, 1940.

THIS is the third anniversary of the day on which China began to resist the military aggression of Japan. I desire on this occasion to give friendly nations a terse account of the light in which the Sino-Japanese War and the world situation are viewed by the Chinese Government and people.

From the very beginning of our resistance we have held that the scope of our cause is not limited only to a defense of China's existence and independence; it also comprehends a service of the greatest value to the future of world order and human prosperity. The recent great changes in the European situation have fully proved the complete accuracy of this belief of ours.

The Japanese militarists have long entertained an ambition of world conquest, and their attack on China is but the first step in their whole scheme of aggression. Had China not fought for the past three years, Japan would early have taken advantage of the opportunity to be found in the European war by directly attacking friendly nations' territory and rights on the shores of the Pacific. As things are, however, China, notwithstanding her original deficiencies in point of military equipment, has, by virtue of her people's united spirit of resolution and sacrifice, brought Japan in three years near the point of exhaustion and collapse.

In contending with China's stout resistance, Japan has been steadily drained of her military and economic strength, while the fighting morale of both her people and army has seen an even more acute decline. The result is that Japan has by now lost the power to act as an arbiter of Pacific affairs and all her schemes of conquest and monopoly have become unrealizable. We may congratulate ourselves upon this fact which is no less satisfactory to friendly nations than to us.

Our resistance having achieved the effects I have just described, the confidence of our whole nation in the future of the war is ever mounting. During the past year, such have been the reverses suffered by the armed forces of the Japanese militarists that they have turned to political devices, hoping by the employment of puppets to shatter the unity of our people.

Since the revelation of the so-called "Outline of Provisions for Readjustment of Relations between Japan and China" or private compact concluded by Wang Ching-wei with the enemy on December 30 of last year, the merest child among us has become aware of the shameless treachery and hypocrisy of the Japanese motives. The unanimous solidarity of the Chinese nation has grown only the stronger and its detestation of that treachery and hypocrisy only the more vigorous. This is apparent to all observers both Chinese and foreign.

No threats or tricks from Japanese quarters can now disturb the course of this crusade-like struggle for our national independence and world justice. Until the enemy has entirely cast off his aggressive policy and withdrawn his forces from our soil, resistance will never halt. This I feel in a position solemnly to reiterate on behalf of my Government and people, in this present message to citizens of friendly nations.

The sympathy and aid extended to China by friendly nations during the past three years have impressed upon our people a sense of obligation they will never lose. In this respect there are two points I wish frankly to put before my readers.

The first is: Militarily and economically, Japan is already plunged deep into a quagmire from which she cannot struggle free. The Japan of today is quite powerless to make war on any third nation. The threats she has recently offered the Netherlands East Indies, Indo-China and Burma are nothing but bullying and baseless words aimed at the gaining of her predatory and opportunist ends without resort to war. Let the Powers meet such threats with discernment and stern resolution, while they collaborate in devising efficacious means of checking any encroachment. They will thus be discharging a moral and legal responsibility toward China and the Far East from which nothing can absolve them. It is the

imperative duty of all friendly nations thus to defend the future order of the world.

At the outbreak of the Mukden Incident there were some among the governments of friendly nations that were hesitant and disconcerted, which inaction has resulted in the present state of disorder prevailing in the world. If friendly nations now treat the Japanese threats to Indo-China, Burma, and the Netherlands East Indies with the same indifference or tolerance, the outcome will prove unthinkably grave. China, for her part, will not hesitate to oppose with force any future aggressive acts of the Japanese in Indo-China or other Asiatic areas, both with a view to her own security and in pursuance of her consistent policy of working against aggression. As a matter of fact, all Japan's moves have for the present as their central and governing motive the destruction of our country's existence and independence.

Secondly, despite the war in Europe, Soviet Russia and the United States have not as yet been involved and they are therefore fully at liberty to exert themselves in China's favor and in opposition to Japan. Such action constitutes, I believe, not only the bounden duty but also the responsibility and right of those two countries.

Japan is peculiarly dependent upon America for the supply of her military and economic needs. This is a fact universally known. The recent enactment of embargo legislation by the United States Congress was an indication of the popular demand for economic sanctions against Japan. If America and Soviet Russia can speedily take adequate steps to provide China with material assistance, there would be little doubt of an early clarification and stabilization of Pacific affairs such as would not by any means benefit China alone.

Finally, in regard to possible future developments in the world situation, we have one observation on recent occurrences clearly and emphatically to make. It is this. For the success of future efforts for world peace it is essential to change self-sufficient and short-sighted habits of mind in favor of the notion of collaboration between all peace-loving nations toward the creation of a strong international organization built into an effective system of collective security.

The last two months of experience gained from the European war lead us to think that without effective organization of collective

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security among the nations of the world, not only the small and weak countries, but even the large and strong will lack guarantee for their safe existence. This lesson we ought to take to heart and never forget. We ought to exploit every suitable opportunity for realizing this ideal.

In making this appeal, I am speaking for the four hundred and fifty million Chinese people, who wish to strive in company with the citizens of all friendly nations toward this goal, for the establishment of permanent peace in the world and the increase of the prosperity of all mankind.

Crimes and Corruption of the Japanese Militarists

*A message to the Japanese people issued on the
third anniversary of the war, July 7, 1940.*

JULY 7, 1940.

CITIZENS OF JAPAN:

TODAY is the third anniversary of your militarists' commencing the war of aggression. On this day of last year I addressed a message to you, wherein every conception and fact I spoke of has been proved true by the course of events in the year now past. What I said then I need not repeat. I wish today to go into some far-reaching and fundamental questions.

During the past year militarists have attacked China by all manner of methods, military, political, and economic. They have exploited to the full every device their ingenuity could suggest, without success. While you have been in a state of vacillation and depression, a year of great world changes has passed. These changes have had their effect on every nation, and the face of world affairs for fifty or a hundred years to come will bear their imprint. In carrying on our War of Resistance to aggression, we have frequently had occasion to consider the status and responsibilities of China in the light of those changes, while Japan's position has engaged our attention in a similar sense.

What I wish first to bring up today is this point. The following is my simple but relevant view of the matter. History shows that nations rise or fall accordingly as they hold to, or depart from, the way of truth. The history of a nation's fortunes is always fashioned after its own nature. During three years of your cruel oppression, we have constantly reflected upon our own state of mind to guard against committing the errors history warns us to avoid. I need not hesitate to declare that China's philosophy of the Three Principles of the People is absolutely sound morally. However the world situation may alter, China is, therefore, certain of national

survival. In the case of your country it is far otherwise, for to put it in a single phrase, Japan has by now lost the basis of her national existence.

I cannot go at length into matters of theory: the merest analysis of the facts concerning your international policy will enable you to see the true status of Japan in the world today, and whether your future is likely to be happy or tragic, secure or unsettled. The first question I would ask you is: With whom among the nations of the world is Japan on terms of real friendship? In a moment of sober meditation, you may well be alarmed, for Japan today has really not a single true friend in the world.

This is the result of the world policy pursued by your ruling class—a policy of flattering the strong and insulting the weak, making profit the only consideration, thinking military force omnipotent, and disregarding good faith. Your extreme contempt for your immediate neighbors has been an especially important factor in weakening your national prestige. Toward America and the countries of Europe you have lacked sincerity, violated your pledged word, always seeking your own advantage, never helping others in distress, and devoting yourselves entirely to methods of deception and selfishness. All the Powers have thus been led to be on their guard against Japan, and to regard her as a potential enemy. The nations of Eastern Asia directly affected by Japanese depredation are naturally disposed to combine with all forces in the world opposed to Japanese aggression. This has long been the situation, but during the past year the case has been rendered even clearer.

Let me refer to one incident in particular. During the last European war Japan declared war on Germany without any proper reason or necessity whatever. Nominally, she was assisting the Allies, but in fact she was out to seize Tsingtao and achieve other aggressive aims in China. At the time of the Peace Conference, she was one of the five great Powers sharing the responsibility of drawing up the Versailles Treaty. By becoming a member of the League of Nations, your country posed as a foundation-stone of world peace. Post-war Germany made an equitable agreement with China, then incapacitated by the *laissez-faire* attitude of the Peking government from taking any part in European affairs. In Germany's darkest hour Japan was not heard to express any sym-

pathy for her, nor was she heard to express dissatisfaction with the principles of the League. Only when the League had something to say in disapproval of her occupying four of China's provinces at the time of the Mukden Outrage did Japan indignantly withdraw from it, breaking her obligations, rejecting all criticism, and feeling no shame but rather hate for others. From that time the countries having close concern with the Far East—America, Russia, Britain, and France—looked more and more askance at Japan. Germany, before she had completed her rearmament, she consistently slighted, until three or four years ago, when she began to press China to join an anti-Comintern front, and China was unwilling to do so. Germany was by then very strong, and Russo-German relations were at their worst. When you succeeded in wheedling Germany into the organization of the Three-Power Anti-Comintern Bloc, she was clearly your country's dupe in the matter, for your aim was to make her useful to you, in no way to assist her. All that Germany got out of the arrangement consisted of beans from the northeast of China, bartered for airplanes and finished industrial products.

Japan's gain, on the other hand, apart from such machinery, has been the moral support Germany has accorded her in the matter of threatening British and American interests in China, and coercing Russia to withdraw her garrisons from Siberia. Japan has never entertained any notion of lending Germany a helping hand in Europe: when last year Germany hoped for a military alliance with her, she fought shy of the proposal. Germany, aware of Japan's intrigue, resolved immediately to change her policy by resuming amicable relations with the Soviet Union. You people of Japan must realize that the conclusion of the Russo-German Non-Aggression Pact last year was an indication of the total bankruptcy of your foreign policy, for, since your militarists started their war on China, with its accompanying attack on European and American interests in China, they have again and again declared the Anti-Comintern Pact to be the axis of Japanese foreign policy. When that Pact became virtually obsolete, Japan was left without a leg to stand on internationally. Your country fell into an unsteady and worried state of mind, but its ambitions, together with its policy, remained.

When the European war began, your government declared it would not participate in it, but made no declaration of neutrality.

This was tantamount to a confession to the belligerents that Japan intended to take full advantage of the war and play the role of an opportunist. Its intention was, of course, to blackmail Britain and France, without giving Germany any real assistance. Japan was out to gain anything she could from the war, toward the attainment of her desire to conquer Asia and control the Pacific. In reality, however, Japan is so hampered by her war of aggression that she is powerless to make any further gamble. She also apprehends the might of the United States in the Pacific. Since September of last year she has been tantalized by hopes of gaining more and fears of losing more.

Japan will never, I assure you, find an opportunity for profiting substantially by the changes in the European situation. If you manage to make some slight and transient gains, you will find they bear you only evil fruit. In the world, modified as it is by recent disturbances, Japan will stand in greater peril rather than otherwise. You are approaching a crisis of extreme gravity, to which, however, your embarrassed militarists are blind. They have now created the new phrase "Asiatic autonomy," apparently supposing their design of conquering China and controlling the Far East may stand a better chance of success under yet another name. In fact, they have already made themselves the laughing-stock of the world, and with every fresh absurdity only further expose themselves to its ridicule. Japan has fallen into a state of isolation for which she will find no remedy. This, and the consequences, you will have brought upon yourselves. Not only isolation, but opposition from all sides is menacing you. A glance at world affairs will show you that small and weak countries are not the only ones to lose their independence and existence; the strong and populous may equally meet that fate.

What of you and of your militarists, with their contempt of moral considerations and their baseless confidence of ability to conquer Asia and dominate the world? Since the time of the Mukden Outrage they have believed that by the occupation of China they could build up a continental empire and drive out British, American and Russian influence from Asia. In this way your so-called "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine" was to be put into effect. On the contrary, Japan's national strength has been irremediably weak-

ened by her aggressive continental policy. You promote your "Monroe Doctrine" of "Asiatic autonomy" by the contradictory process of denying every Asiatic nation its right to exist independently, or to exist as anything but a slave to you. Does anyone suppose the American Monroe Doctrine has any such meaning? With this sort of topsy-turvy thinking, your militarist rulers are, as it were, "painting food to satisfy hunger."

For fifty years or more your militarists have been attacking your neighbors. The latter's resistance is now shaking your country to its foundations. I may freely say on behalf of the oppressed nations of Eastern Asia that they are all calling down upon Japan her speedy ruin. For scores of years Japan will be no military match for any strong country, while her impaired prestige will deprive her of friends. A great storm arising out of the vicissitudes the world is now passing through may at any moment find you unequal to maintaining a foothold. This cheerless outlook for your future comes of your militarists' flouting of the fact that nations must adhere to consistent principles if they are to stand.

If your ruling group is aware of the perils I have spoken of, they nevertheless persist in their vicious errors, plunging ever deeper into their conflict with truth and fact. At present your militarists are still dreaming of finding in the European war means of quickly destroying Chinese independence and subsequently employing Chinese manpower and resources against the world. Would not three years of bloody warfare have sufficed to conquer China, if she were to be conquered? By now China has been proved capable—perhaps uniquely capable—of keeping up genuinely prolonged resistance in defiance of aggression. For one thing you must not forget that, being the world's largest agricultural country, she can render herself absolutely self-sufficient and unaffected by blockade; that she has vast masses of soldiers, of whom every recruit knows what he is to fight for; that she possesses a 5,000-year-old civilization and that the spirit of the Three Principles of the People animates her. These are factors that determine her invincibility.

I once read a book by a Japanese on the subject of human geography, and I remember it began with these phrases: "Events are not to be explained apart from men; men are not to be explained apart from geography. For a knowledge of human events make

your first approach to geography." It is a pity your militarists have paid no attention to this advice. I said last year that they had taken no account of the spirit of our people; today I am inclined to say that they have taken still less account of that important element in war—geography. With a country of such area and population as China's there can be no question of success for your militarists' plans of "speedy victory in a short war," save perhaps at a period such as that of the declining Ching Dynasty or that of the corrupt and cowardly Peiping warlords, whereas China has now been long under the influence of the Three Principles of the People; the nationalist principle in particular holds sway over the minds of the entire people. As for a protracted war with China, the militarists knew that they had no reason to expect victory in such a war.

Had Japan never insulted China, but pulled up short of the precipice of war, prepared to work together with her on terms of equality, she would have secured her appropriate place and legitimate interests in Eastern Asia. Or, if your rulers would now recognize the error of their ways and unconditionally withdraw their forces from Chinese soil, giving up all occupied territory and extraordinary privileges, Japan might again claim to have statesmen, to be truly seeking good relations with China, and ready to contrive, in company with her, lasting peace and prosperity in Eastern Asia. Your militarists, however, clung to the dream of a dictated peace under the fallen walls of Nanking and Wuhan. Thus they demonstrated their impolitic failure to understand the new China they were fighting, and the fact that their war strategy was quite disharmonious with their policy as a whole. They continued to pile mistake upon mistake.

In their overweening pride and conceit, they present a spectacle of ignorance both of themselves and others. When they decided on large-scale military operations at the commencement of the war, they belittled it first with the term "North China Incident" and then later, after the outbreak of hostilities at Shanghai, the "China Incident," as though this unprecedentedly long and wearisome war were for them a mere local incident. This was partly due to their old habit of making light of China and disregarding her as an independent country worthy of equality with others. At the same time it was clear enough that their intention was to use this word "incident"

to deceive you by suggesting that there would be little difficulty in disposing of the war in a short time at small expense. As things have turned out, however, the war has already been going on for three years, your sons and brothers and friends have been compelled steadily to flow into the battlefields of China, whereon for all the exceedingly heavy casualties among them no decision has been reached. Have all the hardships you have endured at the behest of your militarists brought you any nearer to a solution of the "China Incident"?

Let me remind you that your rulers have, during this year gone by, heaped additional outrages upon China and created for you circumstances even more desperate than before. They concluded, at last, the secret agreement with the traitor Wang Ching-wei whereby they hoped cheaply to destroy independent China, draw wool over the eyes of the world, and extricate themselves from their critical predicament. Actually, the world has neither swallowed this fraud, nor has the so-called "China Incident" been by its means brought any nearer to an end. On the contrary, Chinese determination to resist has been intensified. Generations of your people to come will have to face the evil consequences of a future ruined by nothing but these ideas of a "conquest of China" and "enslavement of China." You can avoid unimaginable disaster only by repenting and foregoing those ideas.

Under the agreement with Wang, your militarists planned to split China into several fragments, all to be controlled by Japanese agents behind various forms of nominal puppet Chinese administrations. Chinese territory, manpower and resources were thus to be put at Japan's disposal, while the traitor slaves held up to the world placards, inscribed with their valueless titles of power. The world has surely never seen a viler design for subjecting and enslaving a people. While Wang may, conscienceless as he is, do the bidding of his Japanese masters, our whole army and people unanimously recognize the truth. The invaders are no longer confident of being able to subdue China; they desire to cover a virtual capitulation with some deceptive trick. Holding, however, to their fundamental conceptions of right and wrong, the Chinese people will be content to be nothing but the splendid independent nation they have the right to be, and are not to be deceived by your misguided politicians

and barbarous army men. As for the traitors and puppets, in moments of calm reflection they cannot but feel remorse and ineffectual regret at the thought of the various forms of injury they have to endure under the control of the enemy.

The world has by now received full proof of the fact that China is no country that can be conquered in a few days or weeks; three years of resistance have seen us overcome many difficulties and disabilities, while the spirits of our army and people have gone on mounting. Transformations in the world scene serve only to emphasize the significance and importance of China's status. Perhaps you will say; "China overestimates Japan's economic difficulties and underestimates her military strength." I declare that our first consideration is right and wrong, not strength and weakness. We strive to advance on the straight road before us, holding fast to justice and equity and undeterred by thoughts of Japanese strength. Your militarists will find that no tricks will bring them a conclusion to the war: only a change of heart on their part can do that.

Your politicians do not understand the China of today and they have no really consistent policy. They merely follow the invading militarists blindly, being dragged by them to fly in the face of facts and realities. I have often remarked that with Japan it is not "strategy governed by policy" but "passive policy toyed with by violence." You will do well to realize that this tendency is a fatal injury to your country.

Your militarists know full well that their war of aggression in China is already a failure, and that the longer the war lasts the more terrible will be the resultant evils. Why, then, will they still not consent to withdraw their troops, but continue floundering in the mud of this quagmire? Are they acting in the interests of their country, or rather are they not entirely given up to their own private designs? They are certainly not acting in the interests of Japan, nor for the sake of her renown. They are out for their own enrichment at the cost of your ruin and distress. At the time of the Boxer Rebellion there was the silver corruption case; in 1917 there was the bullion scandal for which Tanaka was responsible—instances of venality on a scale not of course sufficient to plunge Japan into danger of extinction.

What is now going on is of a more serious nature, however,

CRIMES AND CORRUPTION OF THE JAPANESE MILITARISTS

Your officers of the expeditionary forces are robbing our people wholesale of money, antiques, and property of all kinds to send back to Japan. They are everywhere engaged in the exploitation of their power for their private gain, in smuggling and similar ways. More than one thousand documents have been published bearing on these activities. Some of this may be passed over as relatively petty. But there are also your high commanding officers and special service men conniving with traitorous merchants at home and abroad, scheming by stealth or force for their own gain, affording protection to vice, drug-traffic, gambling, illegitimate forms of taxation, and so on. Enriched thereby, they often resort to a life of pleasure and license, depositing their money in foreign banks under assumed names, and putting out of mind all thought of returning to work in Japan. Ozaki Shiro writes: "On arriving in Peiping one is immediately struck by the evidence of corruption among the reformed warriors and their liaison with the opportunists." He also writes: "In North China the Japanese who become possessed of large houses seem bound to start running brothels: there is no commoner phenomenon in North China today. On account of this I once had a great argument with Matsumura." Stranger still: "The name assumed by the Japanese brothels is 'Committee for Cultural Work Among the Resident Population.' This sort of thing naturally draws the contempt of the Chinese people." If this is how a Japanese writes of North China, you may imagine what other places under Japanese occupation are like. We have experienced and witnessed much that is far worse.

In Japanese documents I have seen much evidence of your army men's delight in violence and outrage. "Murders," we read, "have resulted from the practice of barbarities against Chinese women." Again, "Raping, robbery and incendiarism committed by Japanese soldiers goes unpunished." And, "In many cases of soldiers' pillaging Chinese people's property, their superior officers pretend ignorance of the offences." "Officers will permit stealing from Chinese people as a means of supplying pay they should have given out to their men." These are examples taken from documents originating from your War Office.

Because of the corruption and degeneracy prevalent among your armies, discipline and self-control have been scattered to the

winds. The indignation of those of you with consciences has roused you to report the truth or plan improvement, but your War Office has stigmatized, oppressed, or arrested those who have sought a change. I have seen the regulations imposed upon returned soldiers' words and conduct. One reads: "Army men on leave must carefully consider all they have seen and heard in the war areas, and in all they say to others in comment thereon they must take care lest their words have any adverse effect on the cause." Another reads: "What effect complete adhesion to fact in what is said might have on the minds of people at home, must be taken into account, a line being drawn between what may and what may not be said." A glance at these regulations will show how your authorities contrive to hide defeat from you: any news unfavorable to Japan, even though it may be true in fact, cannot be reported; anyone reporting it becomes an "anti-war element." Little wonder, then, that you do not realize the ghastly truth about the failure of the Japanese army in China.

Your War Office, in order to conceal its defeats, not only forbids talk of Japanese reverses, but even of facts regarding the sufferings and losses among your men at the front and casualties sustained in the field. They have even put a stop to correspondence and the sending of "comfort" packs for fear of their containing anti-war literature. This is symptomatic of the gravity of the situation continuing to develop, of the excessive degree of repression practiced by militarists upon their subordinates and the people, and of the utter falsity of the "Imperial Army's" victories, its fine morale, and the immense defeats of the Chinese army which they have repeatedly announced. There are the utterances let fall by Japanese prisoners of war, from which we have learned of the unequal treatment given men serving in your armies and of the hardships in their homes. Innumerable varieties of unjust and outrageous conduct are to be heard of: the shooting on false charges of straight-minded men, the burning and burying alive of their own wounded—a veritable hell on earth goes with the Imperial Army, both within it and without it. Yet it is supposed to be conducting a crusade!

You are constantly told of your army's fighting to liberate China. I think it is rather your own army and people who await liberation from the grip of the militarists. What I have said is fully

substantiated by Japanese documents; it is no invention of "Chinese propaganda." Unless you withdraw your imperilled Imperial Army from China in its entirety, not only will it perish but the whole Japanese nation will follow it to ruin. The men in authority over you know this too, but they will not consent to that withdrawal for the following reasons: First, the chiefs of the Japanese forces in China are mostly engaged in corrupt practices from which they are making profits on a great scale. To return home would mean for them not only the loss of what they have already gained, but also the risk of punishment. Attached to them are their money-grubbing tools, such as the Special Service organs, pacification corps and so on, who are still less ready for withdrawal and the consequent certain end of their pickings. You must realize that these corrupt elements stand absolutely aloof from the common run of your soldiery, for whose survival or death they care nothing. They are totally preoccupied with the business of filling their own pockets with swag. Second, the militarists are careless of their nation's peril. To maintain their position they must dissemble their vices and wrong-doing. They are, therefore, afraid of the honest men who on their return home *en masse* would eventually find some organized way of revealing the truth and impeaching their leaders. The latter leave no device or pretext untried to effect postponement of withdrawal and a day of reckoning. They have meanwhile also to keep in check those soldiers who have already returned home and cut off those in China from contact with Japan. China, in her attitude toward enlightened Japanese soldiers, requires of them only a gesture of sincerity and co-operation for us to treat them with trust and good will. Since the war began a number of Japanese enthusiasts have joined in the work of saving Japan and the people of Asia in this way.

These are two reasons for your militarists' consistent opposition to a withdrawal from China. They adopt various plausible excuses to cover the motives they dare not avow. It is not that they are unaware of Japan's peril or of the fact that withdrawal is the one and only way of saving her or of the certainty of their armies' being destroyed if they remain indefinitely in China. They know equally well that China, while she is seeking nothing beyond the restitution of her territorial and administrative sovereignty, will never consent to pay Japan reparations in any form. The line they take, there-

fore, in excusing their reluctance to withdraw with a pretense of not being opposed to it, is in these terms: Japan, having sacrificed so much in lives and treasure, must demand of China reparations and until these are to be had no withdrawal can take place. Troops must be stationed permanently at least in North China and Mongolia to guarantee the payment of these reparations, so that there they would still have a base for their dirty dealings. China will not, however, permit any area to remain garrisoned by Japanese troops, otherwise she would never have begun resistance. Yet your militarists do not shrink from deliberately prolonging the war and intensifying the national crisis facing Japan by appeal to these arguments, ready for the sake of their own personal advantage to bring about their country's collapse. The mere fact that their ill-gotten gains are put away in foreign banks and not invested at home suffices to show the nature of their designs. In short, the militarists are not acting as they are because of ignorance of the facts but from purely selfish motives.

Consider: With your country inextricably involved in war with China and as isolated as it is diplomatically, can you still fail to unite against these self-seeking men, to denounce their evil doings? There lies your only way of salvation.

In conclusion, I have something more to say of the causes for your militarists' failure in their conduct of the war in China. They have no fixed principles or policy; they simply pursue aggression as the only trade they know. War, however, necessitates a policy of some sort. In this conflict they have displayed no such consistent policy as they had in the times of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. During the last three years you have poured more than two and a half million men into China. Your leaders started out with the slogan "a rapid decision in a short war." They had not been fighting more than six months before they were talking of "protracted warfare." This amounted to an admission of their inability to bring about that "rapid decision." When they summoned up their strength for the attack on Wuhan by five routes, they reverted once again to the "early decision" theme. Coming to the present day, when the fronts have lengthened and the casualties sustained have grown to such dimensions, any thought of their destroying our revolutionary armies at a single stroke is an

absurd dream. On the contrary, your manpower is being steadily reduced by us.

I have heard of a proposal to complete a strategic line from Wuyuan, through Sian, Ichang and Hengyang to Pakhoi—longer than the breadth of Europe. "A long-delayed end to a long drawn-out war" would appear to be the more appropriate description of such a strategy as this. For some time the Japanese militarists have been alternating between the use of the old phrase and talk of a prolonged war. Then after confusing everybody's minds in this way they suddenly come out with a great cry of *blitzkrieg* warfare! You may judge for yourselves whether this "lightning" has been withheld for three years, or one flash of it has lasted for that lengthy period of time! The degree of mechanization prevailing in the Japanese army, the state of your heavy industry, and your technical equipment are all far short of German standards. In addition, China's topography and communications present obstacles that dispose altogether of any talk of *blitzkrieg* tactics. Only in our magnetic warfare lies the key to victory.

From the first time your militarists made mention of a protracted war I felt that China had already, strategically speaking, won an outright victory, for it meant they were to be compelled to fight in the manner we chose. A belligerent fighting wholly on hostile territory is indeed compelled to adopt short-term offensive tactics; if he has to hold long lines on the defensive he is at a great disadvantage. China is a land of immense area and rich in natural resources; once her attacker is aware of the defeat of his plans for an early conclusion to the war, her victory is assured. Your commanders have themselves invited strategic defeat, for they have conducted the war without any systematic strategy whatever. They can afford no admission of defeat, however; they are quite prepared to stake the whole destiny of Japan on a last venture.

On this third anniversary of the outbreak of war, I feel confident of our preparations to smash whatever fresh attack may come and attain by no very distant date complete liberation from the aggressor. Of your own sufferings I need scarcely speak—of how hardly won and insecure are your livelihoods, of the purposeless death of so many among your neighbors and relatives. Why it should be so, is a question to be answered only by your politicians and army

men. First of all, ask it of Konoye and his cabinet, responsible as they are for the whole evil of the war that began on July 7, 1937. Recollect the time when three years ago your militarists brought about the "Lukouchiao Incident," and the Konoye Cabinet immediately dispatched troops on a great scale, and later, when the conflict was under way, declared that it would be prosecuted until China submitted. Has that aim been achieved? What glory has been gained? Can Konoye's "New Order in East Asia" be accomplished after all that has been sacrificed? Actually, you may have precipitated a century of chaos in Eastern Asia by creating hatred between the Chinese and Japanese peoples. Ask Konoye whether his policy of puppet administrations and the employment of the traitor Wang Ching-wei, now eighteen months in his pay, has done anything toward reducing the proportions of your casualties and other losses? Have the puppet administrations brought a solution to the "China Incident"? And finally you had best ask: "What national policy is Japan to pursue in the world of the future, transformed by violent changes? What of Japan's status in two or three years to come?" If she is to rely on armed force, she will be badly off, for in the list of modern Powers she is steadily declining in rank. She is hampered by restricted resources and industry. If this politician, so largely answerable for the aggressive policy of his country, cannot or will not answer questions, you must seek your own answers.

These words of mine are spoken with the best of intentions, for your ancestors were students of Chinese classical philosophy for two thousand years and our hatred is for aggression, not for your people, for whom we feel sympathy rather than animosity, and with whom we are ready to work together for the welfare of Eastern peoples. Resolutely determined to resist, we are aiming only to drive your armies out of China. We wish you no evil; indeed, we hope that you yourselves will achieve a reform of your country and make of Japan a nation of peace and good faith, ready to treat us on terms of equality and respect, and enjoy with us a common prosperity.

This is the principle of our *San Min Chu I* foreign policy; it is the established national ideal of China. It is an ideal that gives us confidence in final victory, and it also gives us a certain serenity of mind in the midst of catastrophic world changes. You must bestir

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yourselves to a realization of your friendlessness in the world, in contrast to our position. We have as our sole enemy your militarists. And whereas you cannot stand alone and be self-sufficient, we can. I once again warn you that your country has lost the rudder of its national existence. To recover it you must start, as I said last year, by rooting out the idea of enslaving the peoples of Eastern Asia. I trust that you will give your most earnest consideration to what I have said.

The Forces of Truth and Justice

A special broadcast to the American people delivered on July 8, 1940, at the invitation of the National Broadcasting Company of New York. This English version was read for the Generalissimo by Madame Chiang.

JULY 8, 1940.

CHINA stands today on the threshold of the fourth year of resistance against Japanese aggression. On this significant occasion, I am glad to avail myself of the invitation of the National Broadcasting Company to say a few words to you, our American friends.

America and China, facing each other across the broad expanse of the Pacific, share intimate and indivisible mutual interests. Upon our two nations falls equal responsibility in the defense of peace, justice and civilization in the Far East.

The import of China's resistance is clear enough to the American people, whose sympathy and support have greatly heartened the entire Chinese nation. To you all, we are deeply grateful.

I need not here review the course of events of the past three years of war. Suffice it to say, we in China have fought under great difficulties, but always with fortitude and perseverance. As a result of our resolute stand we have, in a large measure, exhausted Japan's military strength so that today, although she cherishes an inordinate ambition to control the Pacific, in reality she has lost already her freedom of action. Thus the sacrifice and the struggle of the Chinese people have not been in vain.

As you well know, three years ago, at the beginning of hostilities, we in China were resolved to use all our resources not only to ensure our own national survival but also to preserve international faith, human justice, and world order.

In the minds of all Chinese the best way that we can requite the assistance given to us by the American Government and people is to

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resist to the bitter end. We are resolutely determined to continue resistance until the Japanese militarists are thoroughly awakened to the folly of their present course, until they lay down their arms of aggression and are ready to honor international pacts, especially the Nine-Power Treaty. So long as this is not realized, we will continue fighting. Whatever sacrifices may be entailed, we will not shrink from them. We owe it to our ancestors to defend our heritage; we owe it to posterity to work for enduring amity.

The sympathy and good will shown to China by the world at large are not indications of partiality; they emanate from a common will to safeguard human rights against the aggressor.

At this moment of world upheaval, when Japan's lust for conquest recognizes no limits, we are impressed anew with the singular value of China's past resistance, and with the weight of responsibilities yet incumbent upon us.

I dare assure you that China shall not fail in her task; she shall acquit herself with dignity and honor. At the same time, it is my hope that all friendly states will realize their obligations to China and live up to them accordingly.

I strongly believe that our request to the American people for concerted action to restrain Japan's evil desires is fully justified, and will meet with a favorable response.

Since the Japanese attack on Manchuria in 1931, I have noted two outstanding features of American opinion and policy.

First, America has consistently disapproved of Japan's brutal invasion. Despite the preoccupation in the European war of nations friendly to China, Japan has not felt wholly free from the presence of a powerful force capable of curbing her wild ambitions in the Pacific.

Second, before taking definite action, America is always cautious and reserved, but once she is committed to a certain course she is exceedingly firm and forthright. As President Roosevelt has stated: "Peace is not to be had for mere aspirations and empty words." From this it can be seen that America's cautiousness is a token of firmness.

The day has arrived for America to take decisive action. Japan deliberately ignores the statement made by your Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull, on March 30, 1940, that the United States rejects

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"the use of armed force as an instrument of national policy." She is bent on defying the seriousness of the American Embargo Act. Thus, if America's fixed policy of opposing aggression is to be truly effective, if the course of conflagration in the Pacific is ever to be extinguished, now is the time. There should be no further delay in putting a stop to the export of war materials to Japan, and in giving a corresponding increase of support to China.

It is my hope that the people of America should not only support their government's policy, but should further exert themselves to see that it is effectively carried out. As the leader of China's resistance, I wish to repeat for the benefit of our American friends what I said in 1937, that "the forces of truth and justice, once set in motion, must emerge triumphant."

Japanese Phrases and Pretensions

Closing address delivered before the Seventh Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang, July 8, 1940.

JULY 8, 1940.

WE ARE now arrived at the closing ceremony of this Session. For eight days past all of you present have worked under the great summer heat and in defiance of the enemy's constant raiding attacks, and have brought the Session to a satisfactory conclusion, despite all difficulties. I believe that any obstacle in our way can be surmounted if faced with such a spirit. My conviction that our revolutionary task of war and reconstruction will be successfully accomplished as we have expected is further fortified. On this occasion there has been an extraordinary degree of enthusiasm among you here; the Session, too, has been prolonged beyond the usual period.

Apart from the daily main sittings various committees have carefully examined particular problems. You have devoted your whole time each day to the work of the Session. Every proposal has been given your concentrated powers of mind and discussed in the light of all your knowledge and experience before being reduced to a concrete resolution. In the quality of the spirit displayed and of the results achieved, this Session may be said to be superior to any previous one. The resolutions passed must be put into effect with similar zeal. A manifesto has been issued to express the full mind of the Session. Hence, it calls for no reiteration on my part. I wish now to take advantage of this opportunity and make some remarks on various topics of current importance.

First of all, let me give some description of the circumstances in which the war now finds us. Previous to and during the Session, the international situation has undergone many violent changes, which have encouraged Japan to indulge in increasingly extravagant utterances and aggressive gestures in the Pacific. In view of the unusually

great attention which you have paid to international problems, let me once again repeat to you my belief that whatever shape international developments may take, our concern must ever remain with our own unyielding and unresting spirit of resistance. If our own mental and moral position has a sound foundation, international changes will bring only benefit and not harm to our cause. Our revolutionary spirit of resistance, being persistent and courageous, is not to be deterred from its set course by favorable or unfavorable turns taken by world affairs. In fact, the present international scene possesses features especially favorable to us, and in closer and closer harmony with the course and the goal we have mapped out and set for our national struggle. Allow me to quote an instance from recent events.

In Japan a great deal of talk was heard last month of "autonomy for Eastern Asia." Subsequently, Mr. Stephen Early, Secretary to President Roosevelt, made a statement on the subject of the Monroe Doctrine. It has been a common practice with the Japanese to press into service catch-phrases and terms current in the world. They do this in order to camouflage their traditional aggressive policy of "conquering China in order to conquer the world," as embodied in the Tanaka Memorial. Since the time of the Mukden Outrage, the tag "Asia for the Asiatics" has been constantly on Japanese lips. Even the phrase "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine" has now made its appearance in Japanese propaganda publications. The motive for the use of these expressions has been simply and solely to expel European and American influence—conceived as an obstacle to Japanese aggression in China and elsewhere in Asia. It is particularly America, with her policy of non-recognition and rigid observance of the Nine-Power Pact, that the coiners of these slogans have in mind. If the American continent has its Monroe Doctrine, the Japanese suggest, why should not Asia have the like with Japan as its proponent?

Of late, following the abrupt transformations in the European scene, the Japanese have become more menacing in their attitude toward the Netherlands East Indies, French Indo-China, and other areas in the South Seas. In the latter part of June immense publicity was given to a reported intention of the Japanese government to publish a statement on a so-called "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine."

Then, on June 29, following a meeting of the inner cabinet of four ministers, Arita at last came out with an informal broadcast address in which he made bold to suggest a sort of Japanese proprietorship over Eastern Asia. In reference to China and the South Seas, he held the Japanese must regard these areas as "subject to regional division for purposes of co-existence." He went so far as to claim for Japan the title of "stabilizing force in Eastern Asia." He added that he was expressing a conception already current in Europe and America.

The whole of Arita's address is a mass of claptrap of which the only perceptible content is a fresh apology for the "New Order in East Asia," so long dinned in the world's ears to its infinite disgust. The Japanese Foreign Minister showed himself utterly oblivious to the peculiar circumstances of time and place under which the original Monroe Doctrine came into being and of its essence. The American Monroe Doctrine was the product of a specific period of one hundred years ago. The United States possessed the necessary qualifications for assuming leadership over the other nations of the American Continent, being prepared to treat them on terms of equality and cultivate with them relations of peace and mutual assistance. The doctrine proved lastingly practicable on this account. What is the present period? What kind of a country is Japan? In particular, what are the circumstances in Asia at present and the geographical features of the continent? Completely ignoring such important factors as history, culture, population and race, the Japanese believe they can create a Monroe Doctrine at random. They do not realize that the success of the United States' Monroe Doctrine has been due to the fact that its spirit fulfills a need on the part of the various free and independent states concerned as a means to mutual assistance and self-defense. It was no product of armed force and aggression. In modern times, at all events, the permanent establishment of world peace requires conceptions extending beyond arrangements of a regional and partial nature and their replacement by a broader, truly equal, rational and efficacious organization for collective security among all the nations of the world.

In respect to Asia, only China, with her predominantly ancient civilization, with her great population and area, and with her historically close relations with the other countries of Asia, could con-

stitute the stabilizing influence in Asia. She would proceed on the basis of her traditional moral conceptions and of the Three Principles of the People to work together with all other nations in the interests of general progress in any way conducive to peace in Asia and the world.

Japan, for her part, is today a nation wholly given up to force and aggression, devoid of good faith and principled conduct. She became long ago an object of disgust and contempt to the nations of Asia. In any discussion of the terms "Asiatic autonomy" and "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine" it must be realized that Asia is to be distinguished from other continents for its own peculiar and characteristic culture. It has, too, its complex and intimate geographical relations with other countries of the world. To the north, there is Soviet Russia stretching over both the European and Asiatic continents; in the Pacific and Indian oceans, relations between the various areas cause Asia to be connected not only with Europe but with the Eastern and Western hemispheres alike. All these are factors of which Japan takes no account in claiming to be an arbiter of Asiatic affairs. Dispensing for the moment with moral and cultural considerations, and speaking of military prowess only, it is problematical whether Japan has ever made an estimate of her real strength. Nor is it known whether she has sat down and pondered over all the relevant facts. What makes her think that she is fit to talk of an "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine"?

Following upon the broadcast made by Arita, came the statement made by President Roosevelt's secretary on July 6 to the effect that the American government would like to see "a Monroe Doctrine applied for each continent and each part of the world." This was taken by the short-sighted Japanese as a response to the Arita statement. The actual meaning is to be found in Mr. Early's words: "There should be applications of the Monroe Doctrine in Europe and Asia similar to its interpretation and application for this hemisphere." In other words, they should be based on mutual help, self-defense, equality and independence among the nations concerned. A careful study of the statement as a whole reveals its center of interest to be rather in the settlement of the European conflict and in the problems arising in connection with the status of defeated nations' possessions in the American continent. In so far

as Asia was referred to, Mr. Early was clearly voicing opposition to Japan's armed oppression of other nations and to all manifestations of Japanese aggression. In regard to French Indo-China, a straightforward appeal was made by him for its status to be agreed upon by a conference of all Asiatic countries. So far from recognizing any Japanese right to control Indo-China, the American attitude is plainly one of absolute opposition to Japan's unilateral application of force to work her will there.

It is apparent to all that America must not abandon her traditional policy and attitude in the Far East. She is a promoter of the Nine-Power Pact; her respect for other nations' independence and her belief in the open-door policy are her chief reasons for opposition to the armed aggression and monopolistic ambitions of Japan. Her recent measures of armaments expansion and increased military expenditure form a guarantee of her security and give weight to her words in the affairs both of the West and the East. Historically, America may be more intimately bound up with European affairs than with Asiatic; in point of the present and future, however, the United States is obliged to view Asia with more concern than Europe. Japan is well aware of this and finds it disconcerting food for thought.

This is merely the mention of one recent example of the diplomatic ineptitude of the Japanese. We, for our part, have secured increased assistance; since the problems of China are those of Asia and have their bearing upon the well-being of the whole world, there is scarcely a single country that does not hope for our victory. A glance at the glowing and emphatic terms in which Soviet Russian newspapers and those of many other countries described our July Seventh anniversary tells one how much the world appreciates the value of our three years of resistance.

I wish, however, to remind you that international sympathy can best and chiefly be attracted to our cause only by the energy we ourselves show in it. Dependence upon others would but disqualify China for their assistance. The nations that during the last ten years or so have achieved their rehabilitation have all done so by their own self-reliant and energetic efforts to master unfavorable elements in their environment. In the absence of such a spirit, the finest inherited qualities or the greatest natural wealth of resources

can avail a nation nothing. No nation can exist with reliance on external help alone. In studying the world situation, we should pay particular attention to such points and be benefited thereby in our own struggle.

I have gone at length into the enemy's diplomatic, military, political, and economic condition in the documents I issued on the occasion of the July Seventh anniversary. At the moment, the Japanese are in a state of diplomatic bankruptcy; no one any longer pays much regard either to their blandishments or to their threats. Among the difficulties that weigh heaviest on them is that of manpower. The Japanese population is but one-sixth of ours, and after three years of war, a state of extreme embarrassment for lack of men has overtaken them. In addition, there have been endless natural calamities and mounting human sufferings in Japan. The Japanese are entering upon the final stage of their collapse; their thinking now of extending their activities to Indo-China and the South Seas shows only a gross over-estimation of themselves. We may say that even if they should succeed in occupying Indo-China and the South Seas, it would only increase their troubles. It would be like digging graves to hasten their own destruction.

It has been particularly gratifying to me to see all of you work persistently and at high tension for eight successive days in complete disregard of the sweltering summer heat and repeated enemy bombings. This spirit forecasts our inevitable victory. It behooves a revolutionary party like ours to have such a spirit. At three o'clock this afternoon Japanese planes dropped a number of heavy bombs around this place. An hour later, we gathered again at the same place to carry on with our program. Not a single member was absent. This constitutes another proof of our soaring revolutionary fervor in the midst of difficulties.

More than two months have elapsed since the Japanese resumed their extensive indiscriminate bombings. Though subjected to such a brutal menace, our people remain uncoerced. Instead, they are calm and industrious, carrying on their usual activities as if nothing untoward had happened. No one can help being moved at seeing children and youngsters singing war songs, rendering service and waiting on their parents and elders in the air-raid shelters. The

courage, calmness and willingness to undergo hardships on the part of our people should be a source of encouragement to us all.

One thing is evident. This determination to see the war through despite heavy casualties both in our armed forces and among the civilians during the last three years is due to our *Tsungli's* teachings. It also goes to show that our Three Principles of the People have taken deep root in the people's heart. Meanwhile, it explains the increasing solidarity between the government and the people. The existence of these great revolutionary principles and such an excellent national spirit should serve as a stimulus for great efforts on our part so as to make ourselves worthy of our *Tsungli* and the entire nation. We must all realize that three years of sanguinary warfare has greatly enhanced our self-confidence. If it should be impossible for such a hard-working and hard-fighting nation as ours to continue its independent existence, then not a single nation in the world is fit to be independent, nay, even to exist at all. Having familiarized ourselves with the enemy's and our own conditions, we gain a new insight in our increasing strength as the war goes on, and a new faith in our eventual victory.

Meanwhile, it should be remembered that though the present situation is favorable to our resistance, we must constantly prepare for the emergence of a most serious and most difficult period. As in other human endeavors, our task of Revolution and Reconstruction will be confronted with more and more exacting demands as it draws nearer and nearer to a successful conclusion. Steel of high quality can be produced only by purifying heat of great intensity; so it is with nations. Similarly, victory and national rejuvenation can only follow unprecedented hardships. Likewise, the light of day is preceded by a period of deeper darkness than the foregoing hours of night. Therefore, it will be incorrect to conclude that since no unusual difficulties have risen during the first three years of our resistance, none will in the future. On the contrary, in order to attain our goal we must strive harder and be ready to overcome all obstacles that may confront us.

Resistance is being carried on with strength derived from the Three Principles of the People. Our Party is charged with so great a measure of the responsibility for leading the nation that every one of you should regard the life of the Party as your own,

determined personally to share in its rise or fall, putting your own individual life and death, honor and dishonor, happiness and misery at the disposal of the Party, obeying all orders and upholding the discipline of the Party. So long as we can do this, our nation will surely remain free and independent, and our resistance will surely be rewarded with triumph.

All of you, especially those who have left your important Party, political and military duties in distant places to attend the Session, will now return to your respective posts to popularize the spirit displayed, and enforce the important resolutions adopted at this Session, at the front, in the rear and in all areas of the land. You will inspire all Party members, stimulate your subordinates and guide all fellow-countrymen toward single-hearted devotion to their revolutionary and war work. A solid foundation for victory has already been laid during the last three years. We must constantly keep in mind the loyalty and bravery of our war martyrs as well as the heavy responsibility resting on our shoulders. Intensify our struggle, for light and victory are now in sight. It is hoped that all comrades in the Party and our people as a whole will strive together and will stop at no sacrifices. Thus, the aims of our Revolution and Reconstruction, and the realization of the Three Principles of the People will be achieved.

The Day of Deliverance Shall Come

A message to people in the occupied areas on August 13, 1940, on the occasion of the third anniversary of the day hostilities began on the Shanghai front.

AUGUST 13, 1940.

TODAY is the third anniversary of the day when three years ago we started fighting at Shanghai with an initial armed strength of only three divisions, pitting a resolute and daring revolutionary spirit against the enemy land, sea and air forces some two hundred thousand strong. We smashed the Japanese boast of their ability to secure China's submission within three months, established for the revolutionary armies of China a new reputation in the eyes of the world, and put the nation's status and character on a higher footing by proving the capability of our people to strive vigorously in defense of their invaded soil. August 13 is certainly one of the most memorable days in the course of our sacred enterprise of Resistance and Reconstruction. Let us recall the way in which the Japanese, after occupying Peiping and Tientsin, turned the force of their arms against the Southwest, fully confident that China had not formed the determination to make sacrifices for resistance and supposing they need have absolutely no doubt of their success in conquering her. Little did they think that this third anniversary of that day would find China's fighting spirit and power doubly effective, her courage firm, with no thought of submission, and enjoying high prestige among the nations of the world. August 13 is, therefore, the date when China's self-defensive endeavor was set on foot and Japan's aggression became a thing destined to fail; from that day the future of the position between China and Japan and the future of East Asiatic affairs was defined. I think that all my fellow-countrymen should annually give earnest thought to the significance of this occasion and solemnly commemorate the glorious sacrifices of all those soldiers and other citizens who died or suffered

for the cause of defending Shanghai. We should make it an opportunity for realizing the great truth that spirit outweighs matter and appreciating the strength of the irrefragable conception of rectitude animating our nation, gaining finer proportions as the war proceeds and leading us to victory. I wish to take advantage of this important anniversary to address a few words to fellow-countrymen in Shanghai and other occupied areas, expressing the fervent hopes I cherish of them.

The very mention of the phrase "occupied areas" causes me acute and lasting distress. To think of the vast expanse of our land trodden by the heel of the invader and the number of my fellow-countrymen suffering from his oppression in conditions of utter hopelessness makes me feel that every day that passes without the enemy's withdrawing and without the liberation of those people is a day my duty remains unfulfilled. I, therefore, cannot permit myself to forget for a single moment the ills endured by those living in the occupied areas; nor can I shrink from my heavy responsibility or fail to exert myself to the utmost that I may not fail the expectations of my fellow-countrymen. The Chinese people has a cultural history of the greatest splendor and antiquity; it has an unshakable national spirit; it has a rigid sense of rectitude. People in the occupied areas must realize that there can be no question of our giving up a single inch of our territory and they must grasp the facts that show the enemy's defeat to be inevitable. They must rest assured that at the front and in the rear the greatest efforts are being exerted toward our final victory and they must understand how all-important is the contribution they themselves have to make to the work of resistance.

I am provided with regular reports on conditions in the occupied areas, but owing to inadequacy of communication facilities there may be points on which I am not clearly informed. But I can say without the slightest hesitation that the Japanese attempt to enslave and corrupt our people has been intensified, while the devices whereby the latter are withstanding it have been rendered correspondingly more effective. A single illustration will suffice to make this clear. During the past three years the number of ronin and merchants which follow in the wake of the enemy invasion has gradually increased until there are now estimated to be some 400,000 of them.

This figure is not inclusive of the Koreans and Formosans working for the Japanese, nor of those colonized in the northeastern provinces. More than thirty stations of their so-called "national policy company" have been established, by means of which they aim to suck the economic life-blood of the Chinese people. We can easily imagine the dehumanized existence led by our fellow-countrymen in the occupied areas under such conditions of three-fold slavery imposed by first the Japanese soldiery, secondly the Japanese colonists, and thirdly the Korean and Formosan ronin. In addition there are still the tricks and extortions of the traitors and puppets. This piteous scene must inspire us with determination to rescue the sufferers in time; if we are too tardy they will have lost their very hold on life and generations of our people to come will be squeezed out of existence. How, then, shall we have acquitted ourselves in the eyes of our ancestors and descendants?

Another point is this: the enemy is now aware of the unyielding firmness of our spirit. The only expedient he has therefore to resort to is that of trying to cure it with a show of violence in an attempt to destroy our integrity. To illustrate this from the events of the past month: toward the end of July they burned down more than seventy villages in the Tsingpu and Hangchiang area west of Shanghai, more than ten thousand families were rendered homeless; nothing remained of the houses but ruins, no living things but a few cattle. This sort of barbarity appalls the imagination of humanity. Again, only a few days ago, on the island of Tsungming, the enemy gave another display of frightfulness, the cruelest incidents of which consisted of the shutting up of people in houses to be burned therein, and the massacre by machine-gun fire of people assembled under false pretenses. I cannot now go into other examples of the Japanese atrocities in detail. Suffice it to say that all our fellow-countrymen in the occupied areas are exposed to such brutality and rapine. This behavior is to be regarded as natural to the Japanese when they are at their wit's end to know what to do; it occurs to them as the only possible means of suppressing the people's will to resist. Let us all reflect that it is nearly three years since such areas as I have spoken of—Tsingpu, Sungkiang and Tsungming Island—have been subject to the not only ceaseless but increasing violence of the Japanese, and ask ourselves to what extent they

THE DAY OF DELIVERANCE SHALL COME

would carry their taskmasters' cruelty were we to abandon resistance and accept their domination. The result would be that in addition to those of our fellow-countrymen in the occupied areas whose lives and property are now at their disposal, all the rest of the Chinese population would have neither space in which to live nor graves for the repose of their dead bodies: the whole 11,000,000 square *li* of China would have no patch of undefiled soil. You must all realize that to deal with the Japanese design to exterminate our race and to dispel their fantastic conceptions of aggression there is no other way than that of resistance. There is no evasion to be found in a speculative acceptance of terms and the easy way of submission. In the face of an enemy so merciless only the development of our great capacity to resist will effectively teach him the error of his ways. The more barbarous he waxes the stouter must our resistance be.

Let us reflect for whom those of our fellow-countrymen already dead have so sacrificed their lives. They gave up everything for the sake of the nation and also those of us who remain living. If we cannot make up our minds to contend with the enemy until we secure an honorable conclusion to the struggle, we may some day find ourselves like the northeasterners, disarmed and defenseless victims of the slaughterer. The traditional spirit of the Chinese people subjected to the inroads of foreign aggressors has been expressed in the saying: "rather jade in fragments than a tile entire" and the phrase: "The meanest fellow cannot be robbed of his resolve." "The man of quality can be killed but he cannot be affronted with impunity" is also an expression of our national character. Finding ourselves born in this age, it falls to us to leave some sort of historical example to inspire succeeding generations and add a noble chapter to the story of our five thousand years' old nation.

To my fellow-countrymen in the occupied areas I would say that I do not feel it necessary to use more emphatic terms in urging upon them the extent of their responsibilities because I am absolutely confident that the Chinese people can never be conquered. We are a people with a special capacity for endurance of hardship and pain, fearless of affliction and death; we shall certainly carry on the struggle to the bitter end. I would have you clearly realize that the Japanese are now near the weary end of their resources; it is the

moment for redoubled exertion on our part. The sons and daughters among us must never lose sight of the sufferings of injured and oppressed fathers and mothers; the fathers and mothers among us must keep in mind the cruelties done to the young, the killing of so many children. Husbands should think of their wives as threatened with foul outrage; wives should think of their husbands as living under the menace of death and slavery. There is manly vigor among us; we all have homes; we all have neighbors, relatives and friends; we all have the shrines of our beloved ancestors; there can surely be no room on earth for one of us who fails to rise up and avenge the boundless injuries done us.

Many have been the wars between nations in ages past and present; but the aim countries normally put before themselves in war is merely military victory, whereas the enemy we oppose seeks to take from us not only our nationhood but also our very existence as a people. A survey of all history will reveal no parallel to the viciousness and irrationality of the Japanese. Under the very supervision of their military authorities their officers and men publicly recognize the courageous tenacity of the resistance put up by our people and soldiers and express astonishment at the fearlessness of our armies. They feel that such conduct is not to be seen in other countries at war, and that the greatest of their difficulties lies in the preference of death to submission prevalent in our ranks. They do not realize, however, that it is because of their outrageous scheme to destroy our whole people and sever the vital thread of our millions' livelihood and because there is none amongst us who does not see through their hypocrisy to their real motives. The sense of his life being at stake drives an individual to otherwise unimaginable exertions. With the corporate life of the whole people with its thousand years' old traditions of rectitude in thought and deed and the recent influence of the ideal of nationhood brought into all citizens' lives by the teachings of the Three Principles of the People—it is all the more so.

I have not been speaking with the people under Japanese aggression exclusively in mind, but they should realize how essential to an understanding of the situation are these points I have made. The invincibility of the Chinese people depends upon our sense of moral integrity and our spirit. The greater the pressure of our

difficulties the higher that spirit must soar, our boldness growing in proportion to the danger. Integrity and spirit are irrepressible; no blockade can strangle them nor bombs and burning wither them. The sturdy striving of people in the occupied areas during the past three years has put many an impervious obstacle in the way of the enemy; his feet are sunk in a slough through which he can make no progress; all this has been a very substantial contribution to the total effect of resistance. Whenever I hear of the killing of the enemy in the occupied areas, the burning of his stores, the destruction of his means of communication and other splendid feats of the kind I am not only personally inspired; I even feel a sense of satisfaction at the thought of justice done to the memory of our ancestors and the rights of our descendants. The sufferings you have endured and the inhuman conditions under which you live, the longing with which you look to see the return of the national standards and the eagerness with which you strain to hear the news of victory are never absent from the minds of all your fellow-countrymen in other parts of the country nor do their minds ever fail to be stirred by the thought of you. Your liberation can come only with the total victory of the nation. Therefore your efforts are expected and required as a part of the integral resources of resistance until the complete collapse of the enemy can be brought about.

In conclusion I would like to assure you in the occupied areas of my personal sense of responsibility for your liberation, as for that of the nation. Every individual should discipline himself to an austere regimen of life and thought, faithfully fulfilling the tenets of National Spiritual Mobilization. Let fathers instruct their sons, and brothers give one another good counsel. Let us all swear to do nothing at the enemy's bidding and to present uncompromising defiance to the wiles and oppression of the Japanese and the puppets. Not all of us can take up arms, but every one of us has the sense of rectitude implanted in him with the life he owes to his ancestors. In order to perpetuate the excellence of the Chinese tradition of moral integrity we must show a spirit of preference for death to capitulation. In regard, for instance, to the various low forms of temptation put in your way by the Japanese—luxury and vice, opium and drugs—we must have the uprightness to partake of no such inducements to put in their hands the keys to our souls. They will

scarcely then be able to force the drugs into our mouths or compel us to enter their brothels and gambling-dens. Those living in the areas controlled by the Japanese, and especially the youth in such places cut off from Free China as the Shanghai and Tientsin concessions, need the defense of particularly high character, firm resolution, austerity of habits of life and stern self-oblation. They cannot afford the slightest indulgence or slackness, the slightest pursuit of ease and sloth at the expense of the nation's good name.

So much for the negative side. Positively, I even more urgently expect of my fellow-countrymen in the occupied areas organized or individual action in co-ordination with the movements of our forces to smash the enemy's economic measures, and attack him wherever he shows lack of vigilance, leading him such a dance that he can neither eat nor sleep in peace, upsetting all his activities to such an extent that nervousness and apprehension sap his morale. Immense effectiveness will thus accrue to the forces of resistance and the so-called "occupied areas" will become his inescapable shackles, frustrating his political and economic aggression. I have no hesitation in saying that such efforts have inestimable value in the general scheme of resistance. You must realize that our nation has now reached the most vital turning point in its history. All the pain and sacrifices of the past, all the injuries and hatred aroused, must have their price exacted in this final period of effort. Everyone, whether in the war areas or the rear, civilians and soldiers, must resolve with one mind and one purpose to do their duty on the rough remaining part of the road to be trod. I am confident that victory may thus be had and success achieved in reconstruction. In this confused and troubled world and in this period of the approach of the enemy's defeat the Chinese people have come to the moment of their highest possible achievement and the highest expression of their glorious nationhood.

The Power of Thrift

An appeal to the nation to support the Thrift and Savings Movement, delivered on September 7, 1940.

SEPTEMBER 7, 1940.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

THERE is an old saying in our language: "State and homes alike have thrived with thrift and fallen through prodigality." The words seem trite enough, but they really declare a great principle and a rule from which no individual or country can ever be exempt. The Government's object in promoting this "Reconstruction by Thrift and Savings Movement" is to cause all Chinese people by daily frugality and saving to develop a new greatness and power by simultaneously strengthening in this way the foundation for both individual and national progress.

Three years ago, when resistance was at its beginning, I declared: "By sustained resistance the final victory shall surely be ours." I was confident in making that statement in view of the fact that China has territory stretching from the cold to the torrid zone, in which are to be found all the resources necessary to the economy and defense of the nation. We possess vast hidden wealth which awaits only the concentration of our financial and human power for its exploitation. It is not to be picked up, used and then be gone: it is inexhaustible; as long as men and money do not fail there is no fear of their ever failing to find this natural abundance there. Relying on our being so excellently circumstanced by nature, we may be sure of our ability to wear out the Japanese to the day when they collapse exhausted. The goal of final victory is, therefore, obviously to be sought along a road of hardship and self-denial and there must also be organization and planning at every stage. If the potentialities of our rich resources are collectively exploited and day in day out are adding fresh weight to the blows we strike the enemy he will eventually succumb utterly worn out.

THE POWER OF THRIFT

More than three years of resistance have failed to overstrain the strength of nation and people and the unshakable nature of our first determination has been fully demonstrated. We have only to put forth further efforts to husband our financial strength for the building up of our equipment and the advance of our productive methods and we shall arrive at a point where we shall be self-sufficient both in military matériel and the necessities of the people's existence. We shall then have in our hands a cast-iron guarantee of "final victory." In passing through this period of endeavor, moreover, we shall be putting our country into better mental and material shape and order. With the coming of the day of victory we shall find the enterprise of reconstruction well on the way to success. I earnestly hope that all my dear fellow-countrymen will realize this point and resolve to do their best to make thrift the way to saving as not only a great contribution to victory, but also to the glory of the country as an independent nation and the happiness of its generations of citizens yet unborn. Present saving can lay the foundation of prosperity for thousands of years to come.

When all this is said, there may yet remain in some people's minds doubt as to the value of the movement. Some may think that talk of saving now in the final stage of the war for the purpose of acquiring better equipment is over-belated. Others may think that money scattered among the people is in effect deposited in the country and see no need to concentrate it in savings. Such ideas are fundamentally wrong. The enemy is, true enough, gasping with fatigue, but in the present international situation this semi-industrialized country is exerting itself to summon up all its remaining productive capacity and it will naturally be able to some extent to patch up the holes in its finances. Helpless to find any really effective solution to their difficulties as a whole, the Japanese can nevertheless spin out their struggle for some time. We, on our part, must necessarily prepare to meet their efforts at prolonging the war. Our position, moreover, is such that we cannot but make ourselves independent of others' assistance. Only capital is required for the exploitation of our rich resources and the smooth attainment of that state. With a population of 450,000,000 the saving of one cent per person per day would result in the acquisition of \$135,000,000 in a month or \$1,600,000,000 in a year. If everyone saved a dollar a month

THE POWER OF THRIFT

\$450,000,000 could be put at the disposal of the Government each month, or the vast sum of \$5,000,000,000 a year. The result would be the completion of every project bearing on the mighty enterprise of national reconstruction. Secondly, reports show that people in all parts of the country have at their disposal reserves of money which they have no suitable means of making serve any good purpose. In Shanghai alone there is estimated to be several hundred million dollars of such floating capital. It is largely employed in the surreptitious buying of foreign exchange and in other forms of selfish speculation. Huge amounts of hoarded capital exist everywhere in the interior, some of it used in private business enterprise, but some in the illegitimate pursuit of hoarding and cornering goods. Strangest of all, there are many people who simply store up cash in their houses, "dead" money that might be doing good work for the nation.

There are also great numbers of Chinese people living abroad, most of whom are of course engaged in some legitimate form of commerce, but among whom there is an immense amount of reserve capital subject to whatever legal restrictions a particular country may impose. Much of it is thus put away in foreign banks, to serve foreign interests.

All this reserve capital is doing neither its owners nor the country any good and in some cases is doing positive harm. Apart from the obvious evils of speculation and hoarding, the purchase of foreign exchange and its deposit in foreign banks is against government regulations, while in the present rapidly and constantly changing international scene, it is highly precarious even if the country chosen be victorious. At the same time it is injurious to the stability of Chinese national currency. Note should be taken of the fall in the value of the franc after the last European war and of the recent announcement made by the Bank of England that it would repudiate all notes not presented for exchange within a period of three days. There will undoubtedly be many who through their possession of those notes and their inability to exchange them in due time must suffer a complete loss. This is a warning to those who deposit their money in foreign banks. They must realize that their money is under the control of the foreign government and is not a whit safer than it would be in a Chinese bank. In fact it is more

likely to be the object of unfair discrimination.

I feel sure that it has been lack of comprehension as to the use to which savings can be put and of where their true interests lie that has led Chinese people into such unprofitable and unpatriotic conduct. Let us now, therefore, throw ourselves with new energy into this movement, the success of which must mean the success of national reconstruction. Mutual confidence and assistance between government and people must be cultivated as a condition for the rapid and continuous generation of this great force.

I wish solemnly to inform all my fellow-citizens that, although this savings movement is managed by the Government's financial institutions the Central Bank, the Bank of China, the Bank of Communications and the Farmers' Bank of China, it is also personally promoted by myself and I shall give my very particular attention to the ways in which the money subscribed is put to work. The officials sent out to supervise and promote the movement in various places are all directly selected and dispatched by myself. I commend them to your unreserved confidence and assure you that you may regard them as though you saw myself in their persons. I expect people in all walks of life unanimously to respond, subscribing without discrimination of amounts but with especial emphasis on perseverance; everyone may join in, old and young, man and woman; and in all districts of town and country parties must be organized for the promotion of the movement. Let individuals' financial resources be considered and according to their ability sums of one, five, ten or more dollars be held their fitting regular contribution. Where exceptional zeal is displayed the case must be reported in order that it may receive commendation and reward.

To speak of people in the guerrilla areas living under the oppressive shadow of the invaders' presence and full of patriotic enthusiasm which in some cases they have no means of expressing, they now have precisely the opportunity they have awaited. Rich merchants and financiers, Chinese people with large reserves of capital abroad are especially desired to transfer their stocks of foreign exchange to Chinese banks which are fully provided with all the necessary facilities for treating such money with special favor and guarantees of its security while it is serving to build up the motive power of national reconstruction. I too shall give my

closest attention to the way in which such patriotically subscribed funds are employed; it must be in the advancement of various expertly directed and surely profitable enterprises, such as the opening up of mines, the establishment of light and heavy industries, or the co-ordination of consumption and production, land reclamation and afforestation, water conservancy and the development of communications. All these undertakings are intimately connected with Resistance and Reconstruction in their economic aspect and there will be absolutely no question of a cent being devoted to any extraneous object. The Government will no less scrupulously hold itself responsible for the security of capital and interest; in no event can the investor lose by his financial participation in these productive undertakings.

As time goes on, and the capital subscribed mounts up, the Government will devise means of consulting investors regarding the disposal of their money. Our country has made the Three Principles of the People its supreme guide and according to them, while masses of capital put to uses injurious to society must be controlled, the power of capital as it can be applied to the development and enrichment of the people's life is to be in all possible ways utilized. The present movement may be considered a great step toward the creation of national capital power and the increase of the people's wealth. It is my hope that at home and abroad our people will not fail to grasp the great significance of this movement, in regard to which the Central Government is inspired with very great determination and confidence and prepared to spare no effort to obtain satisfactory results from it. It intends that it shall form an economic bridge between government and people. Response from all is expected not only by immediate purchase of the bonds but also by the continued and unslackening pursuit of thrift and saving. This movement will prove a touchstone of our people's capacity for mobilizing their economic strength. If a striking result can be obtained within a short time China's prestige among the nations will be enhanced and she will be considered the more worthy of friendship and assistance. This is yet another important aspect of the movement. It can give us victory, establish a new foundation for a strong and prosperous nation of the future and strengthen the permanent basis of every individual citizen's livelihood.

Manchuria: Hell on Earth

A message to the people of the Japanese-occupied Northeastern Provinces of China, and to the nation in general, published September 18, 1940, on the occasion of the ninth anniversary of Japan's invasion of Manchuria.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1940.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

TODAY is the ninth anniversary of the day on which the Japanese invasion and occupation of our northeastern territories began. Since that thunder of gunfire in the north and the fall of Mukden, since that outrage and affront was laid on our entire people, nine years have rapidly passed away. The babies in arms of that time are now school children, while the school children of then have reached adult years. Yet the liberation of our northeastern fellow-countrymen and the recovery of our territorial sovereignty over the lost land have still to be achieved. This means resistance has not gained its ultimate goal, and the souls of those martyred lack consolation. We find ourselves on this anniversary day with the same uncured pain at heart and the same heavy responsibilities on our shoulders; I take this opportunity of speaking to all of you and especially to northeasterners about certain matters of the utmost importance. I trust you will engrave on your hearts the determination to strive together in the cause.

I have frequently had occasion to remark on the sort of hell-on-earth life has become for our fellow-countrymen in the Northeast under the enslaving and debasing oppression of the enemy. A month ago I heard a friend just returned from actual observation of the conditions describing what he had seen and heard with his own eyes and ears. The people now living under the puppet Manchurian regime have no security for life and property and no freedom of movement; the whole power of giving and taking life or anything else rests in the hands of the Japanese. The slightest motion can-

not escape their strict surveillance and control. Here are some of the more striking features of the situation:

(1) It is estimated that there are now some 5,400 administrative officials of the puppet regime. Of these 3,300 are Japanese, and among the higher ranking officials there are only a small number of subservient puppet figures. All the law-making authority of the regime lies in the grasp of the Japanese whose most lightly expressed desires define the scope of laws. In local districts vice-mayors are always Japanese and in police posts the greater number of men are Japanese. The officials presiding over smaller administrative units, the "street" and the village, are selected by the Japanese from among the most servile traitors. They heap upon the people further repression and supervision. Any individual wishing merely to move from one village to another must obtain the requisite permission and even movement within a village is subject to surveillance. Census-taking is usually done at night so that it is forbidden to fasten doors. This gives the Japanese freedom to pass in and out of houses at will and commit acts of indecency and rape. Special permits have to be obtained by the people for marriage and giving in marriage. Women married and unmarried are equally at the mercy of the lustful Japanese: there have been cases without number of those who have died or killed themselves for shame, and of others who have known the even crueler plight of desiring death but failing to obtain it.

(2) There is in Manchuria a so-called "national system of military service" under which the Japanese regard all men over 19 years of age as liable to compulsory service. On being called up the more robust are set to hard labor like convicts, and sent off to unknown destinations beyond all reach of inquiry after their fate. As for those recruited into the puppet troops, they are watched over by Japanese instructors. The observer mentioned saw a detachment of puppet troops one day drawn up at a railway station. The corporals were all Japanese and orders were given in Japanese. The men seemed between the ages of 16 to 20; their features bore an impress of suffering intolerable to behold. The Japanese officers would strike them at random as though they were so much cattle. There is also the practice of pressing men for work on fortifications upon the completion of which their names are inscribed on wooden slips

and they are held answerable indefinitely for the repair of any damage their work may afterwards sustain.

(3) The Japanese inquisitors established in all the puppet police stations imprison and kill innocent people as a daily occurrence. In their dark dens there is no room for talk of law or humanity; ill-usage of every description, torture by unheard-of instruments, leave the questioned half-dead or crippled at the end of their ordeal. The search for members of the volunteer anti-Japanese armies offers a pretext for all manner of oppression and atrocities. People may be herded into one village, or village A amalgamated with village B, or several small villages made into one, and then the whole property of the falsely accused unit burned. Firearms in the possession of the people were long ago thoroughly rummaged out by the Japanese, but the discovery of a single remaining cartridge case means a death sentence.

(4) The people are good for nothing but labor service, as beasts of burden; it is not for them to carry on private business enterprise. Industry, small and big alike, has been removed from the hands of indigenous owners by compulsory purchase or confiscation, until it is now all under the control of Japanese "trusts." The treatment of the rural populace has been even more relentless. The farmers' land has been confiscated without any pretense of rhyme or reason. The rather more fertile tracts along the South Manchurian Railway line have been entirely seized for the settlement of the so-called Japanese "colonists." Wherever these "colonists" appear, in their wake arise opium and gambling dens, brothels and wineshops, and trade and the professions, down to hairdressing, laundering, cooking, and errand running, are totally monopolized by Japanese. The original inhabitants—that is, our fellow-countrymen—are driven into the cold climate of Jehol, there to take to soldiering or manual labor. Not only their land but also their houses are taken from them: the very ground is cut from under their feet: even burial space is denied them.

(5) All commodities come under the control and manipulation of the Japanese. Control over industrial products is exercised by a so-called "Daily Necessities Trust" and an "Import Trade Alliance." Weighed down by oppressive and extortionate taxation, the people have little capacity to buy from them; even so, they are faced by

all sorts of restrictions if they make the attempt—even cloth, shoes, and stockings are virtually debarred them. Among comestibles for instance, Chinese people are absolutely deprived of the right to purchase rice and flour. Even maize and kaoliang are rigidly restricted in the quantities allowed. In the larger cities and towns a common sight is the face dehumanized with hunger. Near Liaoyang a certain peasant whispered to this traveler that for three years he had not set his eyes on white flour. Only at the New Year was it permitted to purchase a nominal amount of nine ounces of flour per household. The state of things in other respects may be readily imagined. The Three Eastern Provinces are rich in soy bean production, yet the country people find themselves without bean oil to eat or lamp-oil to burn. The wretchedness of our northeastern fellow-countrymen being like this, each day that passes before we can deliver them is a day of responsibility undischarged.

(6) In the sphere of education, most intellectuals have been arrested or done to death. In educational institutions above the middle-school the teachers are Japanese. Many of the schools conducted by missionaries have been forced to close. The puppet administration has initiated a so-called "Teachers' Training Class" for the carrying into effect of slave-education. Teachers in primary schools are required to have a thorough knowledge of Japanese and in such schools there must be eight or more hours weekly devoted to Japanese lessons. The qualifications for entrance to the primary schools are subject to rigid restriction. Films come under the control of the "Japanese Cinematographic Trust." In libraries none but slave-literature can find a place. Two years ago the Japanese set up a "Committee for Investigation into the Manchurian Language," for the purpose of designing a system of phonetic symbols similar to the Japanese "kana," to be given the misnomer of a "Kana for East Asia." In August of this year the committee issued an approved system and this was conveyed to all puppet organizations and to schools for compulsory use and study. The Japanese are clearly out to destroy the Chinese language and culture in their extinction of the Northeast as a part of China.

The above points are but a sketch of the features of life in the Northeast. In short, the Japanese treatment of Chinese people there has exceeded the brutality and malignity of even their treatment of

the Korean people. Beneath this foul oppression the northeasterners have no freedom of residence, livelihood, speech, education, or of carrying and burying: the slightest movement, and what is more ghastly to relate, even life and death are not of an individual's choice. One northeasterner said to the investigator I have quoted: "I would have you convey a message to fellow-countrymen south of the Wall: we too desire, tell them, to die as befits Chinese, but it may be judged how imperative it is to make one's sacrifice for the country in due time by the fact that we in our position find it no simple matter to die an honorable death fighting against the enemy." These words, in their simplicity and reserve, give us a picture of the minds of more than thirty million northeasterners.

On this important day of commemoration I want to call upon all of you to give thought to the sufferings of the people of the Northeast, and I especially recommend to your attention the solemn words I have just quoted. Of course we are all concerned about the situation of northeasterners; for the nine years of struggle of which the last three of resistance are but a part, our aim has been to recover our national independence, sovereignty, and territory, thus delivering them. Cut off from us by distance and the Japanese hordes as they are, we know, perhaps, only a tenth or so of the truth about them. We must, however, take their fate as a warning in the sense that "sacrifice to save the country must be made in due time"; those who would give their lives for their country must give them while they still have weapons in hand; if you would kill the Japanese, it must be under the leadership of the Government that you serve; the giving of strength and money to the national cause must be done while you yet have freedom and time. With the northeasterners the case is that all their weapons have been taken from them, control and supervision over troops is infallibly thorough, so that, though their spirit is not dead and many an heroic death-blow has been struck, they have little else but bare fists wherewith to strike. Infinite dangers and difficulties confront them in any such move, and under these conditions the driving out of the enemy from within is a task all but to be despaired of. Therefore we must realize, subject as we are to the enemy's bombing, his incendiarism and destruction from the air, how much better we are situated than the northeasterners who, as it were, gaze up to us from earth to

heaven. Our sympathy for them and our sense of our responsibilities toward them should be correspondingly intense; now or never must we exert ourselves and omit no sacrifice for the sake of the happiness and freedom of succeeding generations of our people. The Japanese slogan "New Order in East Asia" covers only a design to reduce all the population of China to the same state of slavery as the northeasterners find themselves in: it means Japanese control of East Asia by means of the annexation of China. Actually, however, the Japanese are forging for themselves fetters from which they will never free themselves; they are moving toward their own destruction and collapse. The beginning of that collapse will mark the deliverance of the Northeast. It is for us to do all we can by the firm and courageous prosecution of resistance to hasten the approach of the hour of Japan's collapse.

What I can reassure our northeastern fellow-countrymen of is the constant thought of them and the resolution not to fail them in the minds of our entire army and people. Three years of war have established a noble and splendid record of achievement. More than 1,500,000 of the proud and reckless Japanese armies have been laid low; Japan has been plunged into a profound abyss of peril. Such is the achievement of the undaunted, all-enduring, unyielding spirit with which our soldiers and people have devoted themselves to resistance and which gives them their title to hold themselves the "hands and feet" of you northeasterners. The outrageous conduct of the enemy wherever he has penetrated has been faced with stubborn composure by men, women and children alike, who for the sake of final victory have resigned themselves to whatever sufferings were asked of them.

In recent months the embarrassment and frustration of the enemy have led him to resort to a policy of intensive bombing and incendiary air attacks with a view to intimidating the heart of our people. These prodigal raids have been aimed exclusively at such non-military centers as Sian, Paochi, and Ankang in Shensi Province; Chian, Iyang, Kweihsi and Yingtan in Kiangsi; Hengyang, Yuanling, and Chihchiang in Hunan; Kweilin, Liuchow and Ishan in Kwangsi; Shaokwan in Kwangtung; Lanchow in Kansu; Loyang in Honan; Chuchi, Kihwa, Ningpo, Chenhai, and Shenghsien in Chekiang; Chengtu, Luhsien, Chichiang, Hochwan and Nanchung

in Szechwan. The ferocity and frequency of these raids have produced enormous damage, yet rather a stimulating than a frightening effect has resulted, rather increased firmness than submission, so far as the mind of the populace is concerned. In the stricken areas there are those who have lost home and all else, who have suffered exposure and hunger, yet with calm and equanimity. People of all ages and both sexes have merely borne in mind the account to be settled with the Japanese, but remain unconscious of panic or fear. All those serving in relief work among air-raid victims have thrown themselves into their duties with extraordinary vigor and disregard of personal safety, in supporting the old and weak and succoring the dying and injured. This display of robust and steady national striving imparts a unique and unprecedented distinction to all concerned.

There will undoubtedly be felt by fellow-countrymen in the Northeast and in the war areas anxiety as to the effect of the enemy's bombing of our rear; in fact it has served only to steel us to greater national unity and a deeper sense of indignation. Since the Government began last year to evacuate the cities and expand the rural living capacity, the city populations have widely experienced the horrors of air attack, but in point of spirit the more we are bombed the stronger we grow, and in point of material considerations we have come lightly to regard our losses. We bid the enemy go on squandering his aerial strength in the blind and indiscriminate dropping of costly projectiles. His menaces and his destructiveness fall flat and we are content to await the time when he has used up all his American oil, engines and parts. The real measure of his strength is a matter of common knowledge; no one is any longer intimidated by his threats. Our shattered walls and charred remains of buildings may for the moment stand as a striking reminder for us of the cause for which we must fight, and as a monument to the senseless barbarity of the Japanese. Those whose homes have been destroyed have moved out into the far-flung countryside; indeed we are presented with an opportunity to achieve a great development of productive power in the rural areas, and thus attain the objectives of our people's economic reconstructive movement. You northeasterners and people living in the war areas need not, therefore, be disturbed or anxious on account of the news you hear of bombing

in the rear. It has proved only evidence of the strength of the people's spirit there; that it is not inferior to that being shown by officers and men at the front. With the exception of a few wretched traitors such as Wang Ching-wei, the entire nation is inspired with an inflexible spirit of "preference for jade in fragments to a tile entire"; everyone is prepared for suffering and sacrifice for the sake of final victory; at the thought of our northeastern fellow-countrymen's sufferings, we discount our own; at the thought of how they seek both life and death in vain, we feel we ought to accept whatever sacrifice may be imposed upon us. We are one and the same people as they; we are as the hands and feet of one body—breathing the same breath—we all bear the same responsibility for national salvation, but it is we "south of the Wall" who must feel it weighs most directly upon us. This is a point on which I wish especially to reassure northeastern fellow-countrymen.

Since the loss of the Northeastern Provinces nine years have elapsed, and during that period we have to recall unprecedented calamity not only for you but also for the whole country. Before final victory is won there may well be a time of still greater difficulty, but with the experiences of the present and the past in mind, we are in a position to grasp the supreme truths upon which success and failure, victory and defeat, depend; to have confidence in final victory; and to be aware of our responsibility as seen in the vast perspective of history.

I have three points to make in what remains for me to say today.

Firstly: The occurrence of September 18 nine years ago formed a prime factor in upsetting international peace and order in the world. The present war in Europe may be put down to the Japanese militarists as the prime movers responsible. Now, the wilder they wax the more diplomatically isolated the Japanese become, and the course before them the more perilous. The saying, "The perpetrator of many wrongs must at last bring on his own ruin," will apply to the inevitable outcome of Japan's actions—her boundless ambition will issue in self-destruction. It is for us at once to be revenged and to rid the world of this universal enemy.

Secondly: During these nine years past and especially since the European conflict began, international events have proved that any people, if only capable of exerting itself to develop its own strength,

and of confronting all the difficulties in the path of its national rehabilitation, can in time convert its weakness into strength. An unyielding spirit has been shown to be the main element in overcoming a foe and commanding victory. Once the spirit submits, a nation is laid open to boundless pillage and irrevocable submergence in the tide of fate. If we, therefore, look out into the world of today and are aware of the duties naturally imposed upon us, we cannot but observe that of all experiences submission is the most painful. The only result of it is destruction. It is only necessary to look at the situation of the northeasterners. On the one hand there is the solid resistance of Free China; and on the other their constrained and tragic struggle against impossible odds. In the light of this contrast we must conceive the efforts we are putting into resistance not only as our appointed duty but even as matter for rejoicing. Even if we die of cold and hunger, or perish in battle, it is not to be reckoned cause for sorrow while the spirit is unsubdued. Only the loss of the nation's vantage ground from which to re-establish its freedom and equality with other countries, only the descent to utter dispossession of its rights, may be called genuine pain. When the northeasterners desire to seek opportunities of killing the enemy and dying honorable deaths, they find such hard to come by. I would have you think this over repeatedly.

Thirdly: There is evidence to be found in recent international events for the belief that nations reap as they sow in victory or defeat. Behind us we have the five thousand glorious years of our history; before us, there are the untold generations of our descendants. A little more hardship endured and energy expended today will mean as much more happiness and well-being for our descendants. Another year of persevering resistance will mean at least a hundred years of freedom for them. Now the victory that will bring recovery of the Northeastern Provinces is at hand. It is my fervent desire to see all China's people and soldiers, whether north or south of the Great Wall, at the front or in the rear, advancing with one purpose toward that victory and the wiping away of disgrace from the country's name, for the accomplishment of the mission imposed by history upon us.

The International Role of the Republic

A Double Tenth message to the army and the people, October 10, 1940.

OCTOBER 10, 1940.

THIS is the twenty-ninth anniversary of the day when the Republic came into existence. We celebrate the occasion this year with resistance in its fourth year and at a time when tremendous changes are sweeping over East Asia and the whole world. These circumstances charge the day with a significance out of all proportion to that it bears in normal times. It is all the more necessary for us to be deeply aware of the aims of China's nation-building and to go about the fulfillment of our duties with the mighty spirit of the revolutionary martyrs.

Recalling the course of the establishment of the Chinese Republic, we are all bound to think first of our late *Tsungli*, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who strove his whole life for the Revolution and whose great leadership, together with the magnanimous sacrifices of numberless martyrs twenty-nine years ago, brought about the overthrow of the Imperial system and the creation of the Republic. The events of 1911, however, only set in motion the enterprise of national construction; they were but the first step in the course of the Revolution. The aim of that national construction and that Revolution is the realization of the Three Principles of the People. On the one hand, the goal is to secure for China independence and freedom and give her a permanent place in the world as a strong and prosperous country. On the other hand, "having attained a good for oneself, desiring to convey it to others," we proceed to bring to bear on the advancement of peace and happiness for all mankind the great moral ideas our people possess, in order to fulfill China's responsibility toward the world.

Since our country belongs geographically to East Asia our first desire is to ensure its tranquillity. Peace in the world at large can be assured only if tranquillity prevails in the Pacific Ocean. Simply,

therefore, we aim at home to build up our national defenses that China may have the means to freedom and equality with other nations, and abroad to stabilize the affairs of the Asiatic continent with a view to true world peace. Such are the aims the *Tsungh* set himself in his life-long struggle, and such are the ideals of 1911.

Nearly thirty years have passed, but the aspirations of Dr. Sun and the revolutionaries are yet unattained. We cannot but feel immense compunction at our vacillations and inconclusive efforts. However, the greatest obstacles in the way of the still halting and delayed progress of the Revolution have been and are due to external causes, above all, to the Japanese militarists. They are the mortal enemies of national construction in China; their aggressive policy and the Three Principles of the People are incompatible forces, one of which must yield to the other. Their aims are the destruction of China, the enslavement of East Asia, and the conquest of the world. The first step in the Tanaka plan* was the conquest of China, and "what is most to be feared," wrote Tanaka, "is the awakening of China; if China were to become united the consequence would be industrial development; it is necessary to control Manchuria and Mongolia and then to use them as a base for the seizure of all China's wealth and resources." These are not merely the wild words of an individual. They represent the consistent and fundamental policy of the Japanese militarists. Ever since the Revolution of 1911 they have been ceaselessly interfering with and obstructing the unification, economic revival and national defensive measures of China. Previous to the time of the Northern Expedition they practiced political sabotage, produced civil strife, sold drugs, and promoted smuggling in China. They left no device untried for the injury of our national unity. After 1928, the violence with which they went to work and the obvious nature of their intentions were only the more striking.

Nine years ago they invaded our Northeastern Provinces and then the climax came with the Lukouchiao Incident of 1937 when they commenced aggression on a scale calculated to strike at the very foundation of China's national existence. It is clear enough that the present slaughter and pillage perpetrated by the enemy is

*The Tanaka Memorial, presented to the Emperor of Japan on July 25, 1927, by Premier Baron Giichi Tanaka.

due to the Japanese militarists; but the same is no less true of all the chaos and tragic suffering our country has endured for the last thirty years. We are fighting now not only to clear and revenge ourselves of disgrace, but as a necessary means of attaining our national ideals, for the completion of the revolutionary enterprise set on foot in 1911 and the realization of the Three Principles of the People. Out of this war must come the recovery of our sovereignty, independence and territorial and administrative integrity and the contribution we have to make toward the strengthening of standards of international conduct, human equity and world peace. The former is absolutely the most essential and most elementary condition for national construction, while as I have often brought to your attention, the indestructibility of the conception of equity and the inevitable victory of justice in the world are facts of which we can never obtain too close a grasp.

The Japanese themselves avow the boundlessness of their ambitions. The center of those ambitions is the conquest of China but they include the overrunning of all East Asia, the carving up of the whole Pacific area, and unlimited aggression throughout the world. The attack on China, therefore, cannot be considered apart from the worldwide aggression contemplated by the Japanese militarists. Whether they say "a conclusion to the China Incident," or "to the south the defensive; to the north the offensive," or "to the north the defensive; to the south the offensive," it is all only a matter of sequence in the steps of their great scheme. Tanaka declared: "If China be completely conquered by us, Central Asia and Asia Minor, India and the South Seas, with their heterogeneous peoples, will certainly fear and yield to us; the world will be given to understand that East Asia is in our possession." He also spoke of the inevitability of war between Japan and America and Russia. "The rich resources of China," he wrote, "will become instrumental to the conquest of India, the South Seas, Central Asia and Asia Minor and Europe."

The minds of the Japanese militarists are crazed with this sort of dream. Their so-called "New Order in East Asia" is the phrase in which they express their determination to see all the countries on the shores of the Pacific and all the peoples of Asia acknowledge their overlordship. So they plunge into mad adventures and throw

themselves toward ruin. Their nature, however, is such that save on the point of extinction they will never realize the error of their ways. Aware of this, China is resolved to fight not only to smash their scheme of conquest insofar as it applies to her, but also to shatter their hope of subduing the rest of Asia. China is the most ancient and the largest Asiatic country. Without her, East Asia would dissolve. She has not, therefore, shrunk from assuming responsibility for the stability of East Asia.

Since the outbreak of the European war the Japanese, despite the little strength left them after fighting three years with China, have been thinking constantly how they may take advantage of the situation for purposes of expansion southwards. Following the reverses suffered by Britain and France their "New Order in East Asia" suddenly became a "New Order for Greater Asia." The announcement was made that "Greater Asia" included the South Seas and frequent mention was made of a "new world order." Then came the compact engineered with Germany and Italy. Action no less extravagant than the mental ebullitions of the Japanese is clearly to be expected. It matters little to us whether they expand northward or southward; all their moves spell danger to China. China is inveterately opposed to both the "New Order in East Asia" and the "New Order for Greater Asia," and she will never cease her struggle, whatever the future difficulties, until her people have attained their national ideals.

Any country recognizing Japan's right to a "leading role in a New Order for East Asia," I unhesitatingly declare, will come eventually to regret having been a tool of Japan. Any treaty concluded with Japan in regard to Eastern Asiatic affairs, if China opposes it, will prove as worthless a scrap of paper as the treaty made between the Nanking puppets and their Japanese masters. I also declare that if only we persevere in resistance the Japanese scheme behind the Triple Alliance will be utterly frustrated. Every day that passes without a pause in Chinese resistance is another day without a solution for the grave emergency in Japanese affairs. The main Japanese motive, indeed, for entering into this alliance lies in the "urgent desire to bring the China Incident to a close." China, however, is engaged in a life-and-death struggle. As long as we have not reached the goal of resistance, no matter whatsoever threats and tricks he

may employ, the enemy will never succeed in causing us to swerve a hair's-breadth from our purpose. If we analyze it objectively, this Triple Alliance is seen to be, as it were, a pit of self-destruction in addition to the shackles the enemy has already forged for himself with the "New Order in East Asia."

Everyone must understand that into whatever part of East Asia the enemy leaders may carry their aggression, it is all part of their criminal design to destroy China. Every move is a mortal blow aimed at the nation which we are planning to build and which will never be built without the dissipation of the Japanese dream of a "New Order in East Asia." At a time when the Japanese are exposing themselves to fresh risks it is opportune to strike them with the utmost severity. Thus we shall not fail to observe the directions left us by the *Tsungli*, as well as China's responsibility toward East Asia.

In this period of urgency for resistance and of unprecedented convulsions for the world, it behooves our devoted army and people, holding fast to the *Tsungli's* teachings, with firm faith in their cause, to exert intensified effort. To drive out the enemy and carry to completion the unfinished work of the revolutionary martyrs we must draw on their revolutionary and fighting spirit. Recall the circumstances of their heroism: those circumstances were certainly no less arduous than ours, yet they were infinitely the worse off. They defied death, returned ever to the charge, and fought even with bare fists and weaponless in creating the Republic.

Dr. Sun said: "At Huanghuakang three hundred men faced thirty thousand, pitting pistols and grenades against rifles and artillery. In the rising at Wuchang the odds were five hundred to one. Such contests are unknown in the annals of ancient and modern times, in the military art at home and abroad. Only revolutionary history could have put them on record. . . . If we would bring China into line with other nations and secure for the Chinese people an everlasting existence among mankind, we must emulate the revolutionary martyrs' conduct, make them our standard, be ready like them to sacrifice everything in single-hearted devotion to national salvation. There is no other recipe for the spirit that should animate the Kuomintang but this: fearlessness of death." This spirit

of selfless patriotism dwells in the foundations of the Chinese Republic.

No revolutionary endeavor in the world that answered natural and human needs and laws has failed. The building of a nation, however, is always attended by numberless trials and sufferings. With other nations it has ever been that revolutionary endeavor has met immense obstacles and steady endurance has been required. American independence encountered numerous setbacks and material difficulties greater than China's today. Eight years of bloody conflict went to the making of the present spectacle of a strong and prosperous United States. The Russian revolution was hindered from without by foreign intervention and blockade and internally by reactionary elements, with the addition of grave natural calamities. It kept, however, to a steady course toward a defined goal, and at last repelled the foreign invader and pacified the land, leading to the construction of the imposing state of today. The revival of Turkey, again, took place when the Powers had just imposed upon her crushing terms of peace. Mustapha Kemal Pasha set about the salvation of his country at a time when its territory was daily diminishing, its economic strength was steadily declining, the army was falling to pieces and internal administration was in confusion. He cut a way through these overwhelming difficulties, leading the Turkish army and people to war for the recovery of the lost territory and national liberation. Subsequently, he threw himself into ten years of intense work to reconstruct the country and army and to institute all kinds of reforms, until the great enterprise of rehabilitation was at last completed.

These are all examples worthy of our emulation. The present European war may serve to impress on us the importance of concentrating our resources for the strengthening of national defense, but also the fact that such efforts must be seconded by the ability to maintain a struggle without wavering, no matter how long it lasts. At the same time, we should observe how any nation, to whatever degree favorably circumstanced, if it falls into ways of dissipation and easygoing self-seeking may perish in a flash. On the other hand, in circumstances the most perilous unity and determination of a people's heart can save the situation. Our nation now

hangs between life and death. Resistance is at a critical and arduous stage of its course; yet we are far better off than were the revolutionary martyrs or the builders of other nations at the commencement of their task. There is little difficulty in comprehending this truth: we confront a foe who has on all sides of him enemies other than ourselves—the rapidly weakening Japanese; while at our side are ranged the nations working for justice and existence in co-operation with others. In the last resort, all these nations desire to see in Asia a free and ascendant new China which, after winning the War of Resistance, will be able to assist in world economic co-operation and in the establishment of true world peace. The question now is, therefore, whether we have confidence in ourselves, whether we still possess the revolutionary spirit of 1911, and such a spirit as all countries have displayed in their periods of national construction.

Long ago I expressed my acute sense of the dangers and difficulties that must beset resistance. I have been equally emphatic in asserting that resistance is bound to be victorious, reconstruction bound to be successful. I have pointed out that the fundamental error of the Japanese permits of no good coming of whatever they undertake. Dr. Sun said: "Conduct that goes against the dictates of justice and humanity will sooner or later be defeated." Let the enemy contort himself as he may, his ruin will be only the more catastrophic the greater the adventures in which he indulges. On another occasion I said: "No matter what changes may take place in the international situation, they will be found essentially favorable to our resistance." For we have all along maintained the initiative; we have put the war on a basis of self-reliance and self-help. Advantageous to our cause have been the recent increase of other countries' assistance to China and measures against Japan, but they belong merely to the outwardly apparent indications of a trend in the international situation the impalpable significance of which is even more important for us to realize. That trend is day by day more closely approximating the aims of resistance in its direction. During this period of resistance and world upheaval the *Tsungli's* ideal of national and world salvation will gain universal recognition and eventually be wholly realized. We are resolved to exert our-

selves only the more vigorously should international events appear to turn an unfavorable face on our cause.

With the Triple Alliance the Japanese seem to have emptied their box of tricks. The Chinese people stand sublimely aloof meanwhile, growing stronger as the war proceeds. Our part in responsibility for the security of East Asia and the world lies heavily upon us; but, unless we are remiss ourselves no force can injure us, no power prevent the attainment of our national ideals. On the Double Tenth of the first year of resistance I remember telling you that "this war will not be a matter of six or twelve months." Today, our struggle is still in progress while the whole world has begun the general settlement of accounts that must precede the dawn of new hope. Rereading the teachings bequeathed us by the *Tsungli* we cannot but feel that our road is lengthy in proportion to the importance of the journey we are making. Thousands of years of Chinese history show that as a people we are peculiarly gifted with a capacity for endurance and the overcoming of all descriptions of difficulty. It is not for us to waver in the face of trials, to be bewildered by perils, to lose heart at reverses, to be weakly fascinated by world changes and fall in the midst of difficulties into *laissez-faire*, irresponsible and compromising habits of mind.

For China to accomplish her own task of resistance is for her to discharge her responsibility to the world. For the individual to stand to his post and energetically do his particular duty is his way of making the greatest possible contribution to the nation. From the whole army and people there must be loyalty to the nation, loyalty to duty, loyalty to the Principles, loyalty to the law; and courage in unselfish patriotism, courage in bearing pain to serve the public interest.

In life a man's self is both his greatest friend and his greatest enemy. With self-reliance and self-exertion he has no enemy he cannot put to rout; while if he lets himself slide he courts his own destruction. Similarly, the ghastly injuries we have been subject to may be put down to the dissipation, folly, and selfishness of the past, while the rigor, bloodshed and striving of the present will go to the making of future prosperity and happiness. This gravest crisis in the history of our nation is also an experience fateful for Asia and

mankind. It is the most serious trial history has ever made of the Chinese people's qualities. Extraordinary times have their extraordinary difficulties and these require extraordinary power to overcome. The strength and splendor of the national character must come into evidence now if ever. Our people will assuredly be steeled in this blood and fire; they will develop a pioneering spirit of endeavor for the opening up of the way to national construction and revival. I demand of army and people: at the front, vigorous fighting; in the occupied areas, sabotage and frustration of the enemy and sworn resolution not to compromise with the enemy and his puppets; and in the rear, self-denial and frugality, sturdiness and enthusiasm.

The *Tsungli*, in painstakingly setting down the plans for national construction, anticipated such a unique opportunity as presents itself today. This is the time for us to concentrate our will and strength and lay a sound political foundation for the country. The blockade we must turn to advantage by striving to counter it with the energetic development of production, and the promotion of research and invention with a view to establishing a robust and independent economy. We must exert ourselves in building up the army, in social training, in the completion of the new system of *hsien* administration and local autonomy, in stimulating industry and developing communications, all in order to reinforce the foundations of national defense.

The whole army and people, and especially those individuals gifted with special knowledge and technical skill holding positions of leadership in the various spheres of life, must realize the nature of our responsibility which extends to the fate of East Asia and the world. It is a responsibility not to be shirked but to be upheld with a courage equal to the immense and noble enterprise. The ancients called thirty years a generation and with next year the Republic will have attained that age. It finds itself still menaced and the work of reconstruction still lacks an adequate foundation. A barbarous enemy confronts it meanwhile. Things being so, we have to reflect upon our unworthiness of the sacrifices made and the distress suffered by the *Tsungli*, the revolutionary martyrs and innumerable other fellow-countrymen. The situation with us and in the world is now at a turning point. Our efforts and devotion were

never more urgently required. I trust that you will all display a spirit such as may benefit those to whom has fallen the duty of executing the Will* and following in the steps of the *Tsungli* and those who created the Republic twenty-nine years ago and initiated the noble mission we have to bring to completion.

*Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Will reads:

"For forty years I have devoted myself to the cause of the people's revolution with but one end in view, the elevation of China to a position of freedom and equality among the nations. My experiences during these forty years have firmly convinced me that to attain this goal we must bring about a thorough awakening of our own people and ally ourselves in a common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on the basis of equality.

"The work of the Revolution is not yet done. Let all our comrades follow my 'Plans for National Reconstruction,' 'Fundamentals of National Reconstruction,' 'Three Principles of the People,' and the 'Manifesto' issued by the First National Convention of our Party, and strive on earnestly for their consummation. Above all, our recent declarations in favor of the convocation of a National Convention and the abolition of unequal treaties should be carried into effect with the least possible delay. This is my heartfelt charge to you."

The Nadir of Konoye's Career

A report made at the Weekly Memorial Service of the National Government on Monday, December 2, 1940.

DECEMBER 2, 1940.

IT IS my intention today to make to all of you present a simple report on the important features of the war situation during the past week, on the Japanese recognition of Wang Ching-wei's puppet administration, on the circumstances attending their conclusion of a so-called treaty with him, and on the possible future repercussions of these events.

Commencing from the 23rd of last month, the Japanese, by way of preparatory fanfare to precede their recognition of Wang Ching-wei, overhauled their manpower in all the war areas for the purpose of raising a force to attempt an offensive on our positions in central and northern Hupeh. The attack was planned with the object of boosting their prestige and dissembling the actual vulgar and shameless nature of the transaction. The outcome, however, has been the Japanese forces' complete reverse at the hands of our stout defense in less than ten days. The casualties they have sustained exceed their losses in the previous campaign in western Hupeh. This is another substantial victory for our forces.

Meanwhile on the very same day the Japanese militarists recognized the Wang regime, President Roosevelt pointedly made a simultaneous announcement of his government's intention to extend to China a credit loan and a currency loan amounting to 100,000,000 American dollars. During the past eight months of the present year American loans to China make a total of more than 150,000,000 dollars. Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, has also made a solemnly worded statement to the effect that the United States was absolutely determined not to recognize any puppet regime and to continue indefinitely to consider the present Central Government in Chungking as the only legally constituted Chinese govern-

ment. From Britain there has come an indication of a similar attitude. With Soviet Russia there has been no change in her consistent policy of support for Chinese resistance. These are the events at home and abroad of the last few days which demand the closest study of all in their relation to the war.

Next, to comment on the Japanese recognition of the Wang Ching-wei regime and their publication of the "treaty" he and they have signed, I conceive this action as the perverse and outrageous product of the defeat of their recent peace offensive. The dummy treaty is tricked out with all sorts of features such as "Fundamental Conditions," "Annexed Protocol" and "Understandings." It simply consists of the parts the Japanese have seen fit to publish of the secret "Wang-Japan" treaty long ago exposed by Kao Tsung-wu and T'ao Hsi-sheng.* Throughout its contents there is absolutely nothing novel to be found. This rehash of the former treaty is a scrap of paper representing the willingness of the puppets to be "recognized" by Japan as the totally submissive slaves they are. As such it scarcely deserves passing notice. It will, however, become a part of the record of estrangement between the two countries. It will contribute to a prolongation of the evils of the war they are fighting; it will be remembered for centuries as a symbol of the mortal issue dividing the two nations.

In this lies the tremendous crime of the Konoye Cabinet. Konoye is, in fact, as you all must know, the monumental criminal figure in the history of relations between China and Japan. On referring to the statement I made on December 26, 1938,* in refutation of the Konoye Statement and to my message addressed to army and people when the "Secret Pact" was revealed in January,* you will find a full and clear account of the function of the puppets in the Japanese design to destroy China. You will also observe the fact that this comedy just enacted in Nanking is in no way anything fresh. It is merely the reappearance on the boards of a play already

*See pages 358, 134, and 364, respectively.

presented in the form of the traitorous secret treaty for the "readjustment of relations between Japan and China" signed by Wang Ching-wei in December of last year and in the form of the inauguration of the "Nanking Regime" in March of this year.

I have always regarded the former occasion as the date of the announcement of Wang Ching-wei's decease, and the latter as the date of his funeral. And now Abe, on his visit to Nanking, has put the finishing touch to the obsequies of Traitor Wang, by reading an oration over the tomb. Abe's return to Nanking during the period of mourning made doubly sure that Wang Ching-wei was finally at rest in his burial place. The antics of the Japanese and the puppets on this occasion were merely in the nature of a ghastly insistence on past revolting scenes in the story of their relations. The affair is devoid of any new interest: I need not speak of it at any great length. I shall turn to the subject of the cause for the Japanese recognition of Wang Ching-wei and to the future consequences of their action.

When Konoye became Prime Minister for the second time in July of this year many were his friends who thought he must have a great determination during his term of office to bring the Sino-Japanese War to a conclusion. The war had started during his first premiership and all his successors, Hiranuma, Abe and Yonai, had failed to stop it. With the European war in furious progress he imagined there was a good chance personally to wind up the horrors of war for which he was responsible. This was his general view and in the heads of his entire Cabinet this idea was no doubt present: the idea of at last seeing a satisfactory fulfillment of their aggressive dreams. At that time, however, I declared it my opinion that Konoye, no matter how high he might be rated by the politicians and people of Japan, would not prove able to override the militarists and free his country from the shackles of war.

In the Bible we read: "A corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit." The Sino-Japanese War is an illustration of this. Because this war came of the wrongheaded and impulsive aggression of the Japanese militarists, because it came of the evil seed sown by Konoye, with Konoye again in power, the militarists still in existence, there being no genuine admission of their guilt among them, there is obviously no possibility of an end of the war. At the time of the

Lukouchiao Incident I gave explicit definition of China's fundamental standpoint in foreign affairs. I held that if the incident could not be amicably settled a breaking point would be reached. I said: "We desire peace, but we do not seek evasion of the issue; we prepare for war, but it is not our will that it should be. . . . To war with the warmaker is the inevitable means of acting up to the issue involved. . . . With hostilities in progress our weakness as a nation precludes any further chance of compromise. . . . Whether the Lukouchiao Incident evolves into a Sino-Japanese War depends entirely on the attitude of the Japanese government; the answer to the question whether there is still hope of peace is to be sought in the actions of the Japanese military. Until the very last moment before the final extinction of the hope of peace, we shall continue to desire a peaceful, diplomatic means of solving the incident." I followed these words with a statement of the four minimum Chinese requirements for a satisfactory solution of the incident, adding a warning to Konoye in these terms: "If you can take a detached and far-sighted view of the affairs of Far Eastern peoples, if it is not your wish to precipitate a final crisis between the two countries, if it is not your will to create imperishable hatred between them, then you will certainly do ill to turn a deaf ear to these four minimum requirements of ours."

Now we have been fighting for nearly three years and a half, and China's final victory is perceptibly drawing near. In retrospect, the Konoye Cabinet has been responsible for the present embarrassment of the Japanese. Toward the end of 1938 I attacked the Konoye Statement in these terms: "The efforts of the Japanese militarists to destroy China will inevitably bring about the destruction of Japan. During the past year and a half we have succeeded in establishing a foundation for national rebirth regardless of difficulties and fearless of danger. We pause to regret the fall of Japan, with her history of reformers' magnificent sacrifices, into the grip of the 'Junior Officers' group who play ducks and drakes with her resources and manpower, leading her to barbaric ruin. Japan is on the brink of an unthinkable end." These words of mine spoken two years ago are seen in the light of present events to be in no way mistaken. Konoye, despairing both of his headlong design to annex China by force and of his peace offensive, has willy-nilly

resorted to the *pis-aller* of recognizing the puppet administration in an attempt to persuade the Japanese people to believe that a sort of conclusion to the Sino-Japanese War has been achieved. In fact, however, his ostrich-like behavior, his poor endeavor to deceive himself and us and others, constitutes an insult to the integrity of the Chinese people as well as to that of his own people. For this act of recognition further lowers the prestige and good name of Japan. In practice it will contribute to the prolongation of the war, so far from bringing about an end to it; it will intensify hatred between China and Japan; and it will add impetus to Japan's descent to irretrievable ruin.

Observation of the conduct and measures of Konoye's two cabinets makes clear their quality as puppets of the militarists, in which capacity they have committed all their iniquities. Konoye did three things during his first tenure of office. Firstly, he brought about war between China and Japan with all the consequent loss of life and treasure to Japan, while now he still finds himself powerless to extricate himself from the slough into which he has dragged his country. Secondly, he made it his policy to strengthen the "Anti-Comintern Agreement," making an enemy of Soviet Russia in pursuance of his wild continental policy of aggression. Thirdly, he published his statement on the "New Order in East Asia," showing therein that his ambition was not limited to the destruction of China but extended to the expulsion of American and European influence from Asia. He conceived Japanese domination over all Asia as a step to conquest of the world. These three moves form the most important elements in the fatal course Japan is treading. Especially by the idea of the "New Order in East Asia" did Konoye do his country deadly injury.

During his second period of premiership Konoye has also done three things of particular note. The first was his introduction of the so-called "New Structure" into the politics of Japan. The second was his bringing of Japan into the Triple Alliance with Germany and Italy. The third was his recognition of Wang Ching-wei's puppet government together with his publication of a "Joint Manifesto" subscribed to by Japan, "Manchukuo," and the puppet China. In regard to his motives for these three moves I do not hesitate to make this great distinction: when he was first Premier,

his one object was to defeat China in the field, while now that he is again Premier his whole aim is to procure an end to the war in any way. Today he has no other thought but release from the bonds of his "China Incident."

Let us examine the first of the series of three moves taken since he again became Prime Minister. He finds himself obliged, in order to wrest a solution from the hard facts of the war situation, to unify public opinion and concentrate Japan's national resources for the effort. You must all be aware that since the war began not only has public opinion in Japan shown itself boisterous and formless but the minds of the people have also been at a loss to understand the situation. As time goes on, and the war seems endless, conflicting views multiply. Anti-war sentiment spreads further and further both at the front and in the rear. On the one hand the antagonism between the militarists and the people deepens and on the other hand divisions among the former themselves, groups for war and for peace, for biding time and for taking vigorous action, pro-Russian and anti-Russian, friendly to America and inimical to America, for southward expansion and against it—such are the loudly dissentient voices to be heard in the enemy camp.

This was a state of affairs which the "Junior Officers" Group could not ameliorate, but which Konoye tried to improve by means of his "New Structure." In practice this hope of his must prove vain. Another aspect of the thing is that it represents the overthrow of the whole political, economic, social and even military basis of Japanese life as it was built up by loyal ministers and highminded men during the sixty years of Japanese history following the Meiji Reform. Konoye did not shrink from such action as a device for the attainment of his longing for some solution for the war which he hoped would still bring about China's ruin; yet his hope for success for this and other of his tricks has proved utterly illusory.

Coming now to the second of the recent moves of Konoye mentioned above, the conclusion of the Tripartite Alliance, we need consider only the motive of Japan for entering into the compact, a motive undoubtedly different from those of the other signatories. I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that her aim was certainly not born of any love for her new allies; nor was it one of contributing anything to their cause. The idea was to borrow

prestige from them and hold out the alliance as a threat to Soviet Russia, England and America, and to provide an obstacle to assistance for China from these nations. The Japanese aspiration was to find in the Alliance a chance of executing the southward expansion policy and of bringing the war to a conclusion. In fact they have gained nothing by their unprincipled conduct.

One naturally recalls Konoye's policy of strengthening the Anti-Comintern Pact, where the motive was similar. Then he was thinking of leaning on others' support in the "northward expansion" adventure, preparing for simultaneous war with China and Russia, all as a part of the Continental Policy. Such are the selfish motives behind the Japanese adhesion to these agreements with other countries which they have no intention of helping. With the non-aggression pact between Germany and Russia and the resulting virtual annulment of the Anti-Comintern Pact Japan suffered a diplomatic shock she had prepared for herself by her self-centered designs. She then executed a *volte-face*, turning from a policy of enmity toward Russia to one of search for grounds of diplomatic rapprochement. Simultaneously, Japan strove to appease the United States and threaten Great Britain. The aim was still that of depriving China of assistance from Soviet Russia, Britain and America as a necessary measure for the solution of the "China Incident." These countries, entirely sensible to the nature of the transactions, have watched the complete failure of each device.

Behind all the recent Japanese moves, the Triple Alliance with its threat to America, Britain and Soviet Russia, the "Japan-'Manchukuo'-'China' Manifesto," the signature of the treaty with Wang and recognition of him—the treaty containing the clause defining Japan's right to carry out the provisions of the Anti-Comintern Pact in Mongolia and to station troops in certain areas of North China—there is the same unchanging tendency of Japan to work against Russia and at the same time pursue her traditional policy of aggression in China.

The obvious purpose of the Triple Alliance in her eyes was to make way for expansion to the south; yet she is still unwilling to give up her northward project. I leave it to your intelligence to decide whether it is likely Japan can simultaneously dominate Soviet Russia

and menace America, expanding both to the north and south at once. By so doing she would be virtually annulling the Tripartite Pact, she would be even acting to the injury of her allies' interests for speculative ends of her own. Or her action would portend a radical change in the original nature and purpose of the pact. The spectacle of Japan's diplomatic contortions is one of self-deception, dishonesty and faithlessness so unscrupulous that there can now surely be no country that trusts her or regards her as a worthy partner in alliance.

Next, of Konoye's third political move during his present premiership I have already spoken. To quote what I said last year: "The puppet organizations are bound to appear, but no matter how many of them Japanese produce, no matter what titles they may give them, we shall ever regard them as nothing but the slaves of Japan, of no validity in relation to China herself or other countries and powerless to injure our Party or nation in the slightest." However, behind the scenes there lies a darker aspect of the puppet show. There is the thought present in the minds of the Japanese that the puppet government may possibly serve in the enslavement of all China by the use of its false name as a subtle vehicle for the termination of the war and the real annexation of China. The Japanese peace offensive of the past two weeks has been a weird and amazing affair indeed. First various peace rumors are circulated; then the pretense is that the Chinese Government has refused peace proposals even inclusive of a Japanese withdrawal, compelling Japan to resort to recognition of the Wang Ching-wei Administration. I can, however, declare that the Chinese Government has neither been aware of any of these imaginary peace proposals nor has it perceived the smallest hint of a sincere desire on the part of Japan to abandon aggression and seek peace. In view, moreover, of the declaration made by the Konoye Cabinet in January of 1938 to the effect that Japan no longer recognized the Central Government as a possible participant in negotiations with her, our Government and every citizen in the land will place no faith in reports of Japan's seeking peace with the Government, and we are even more skeptical of the ability of the Japanese militarists to impose peace. There is not a primary school student in China who would put rash trust in the rumors. They are futilely directed

at the Japanese people and the rest of the world in an endeavor to hoodwink them.

Finally, the recognition of the Wang regime was conducted under the grandiose nomenclature of the "Manifesto"—the "Imperial Government of Japan," the "Imperial Government of Manchukuo" and the "Republican Government of China." These absurd terms are a great insult to the Chinese people that will be forever remembered by descending generations of the race. Beneath contempt as is the vulgar conduct of the Japanese, it is totally harmless so far as we are concerned. For three years and six months we have fought without thought of submission to enemy threats; we have sustained the national honor of China against his insolence and insults. Today we are as resolved as ever to resist to the end; but this is not all: we intend China shall issue from the war in all the splendor of a freedom and independence more real than she has previously known—a new *San Min Chu I* China. All that has come of this recognition of Wang Ching-wei on our side, therefore, has been stimulation of our national spirit and a clearer demonstration of the soundness of our national integrity, and of its inviolability in the face of Japanese trickery.

On the other hand, the damage done to Japanese national integrity and prestige by the actions of the Konoye Cabinet is of incalculable extent. The effect is to depress the reputation of Japan to the level of the slave governments created by her. The Manifesto is not a manifesto of three countries, but it is a document proclaiming the formation of a tripartite puppet body and the confluence of two puppet streams represented by Wang Ching-wei and Konoye. For the "Japan, Manchukuo and China" of the Manifesto are conceived as having attained "indivisible unity" and "amalgamation," and all the other phrases to be found in the declaration on the "New Order in East Asia." If I am to speak of the effect of this enemy move on the course of Resistance and Reconstruction, I can only say that it has added to the indignation of the whole country, and heightened the fighting spirit of our soldiers at the front. As I said when the Secret Pact was revealed: "Not to strive is to be ruined; not to resist is to sit waiting for death. Are we slaves whom the traitor Wang Ching-wei can sell? We have only to think of how we are to avenge these insults and secure the existence of the nation,

snatching the good name of China out of the hands of those who would destroy it." In the enemy's present resourceless situation we have only to keep up a continuous rain of effective blows at him in order to bring about his final collapse. When victory comes and the militarists are driven from our soil the Wang Administration will resemble in its fate the wretched end of the reactionary puppet regimes of Denikin, Kolchak and Wrangel that the Imperialists set up in the time of the Russian Revolution. It will find the ground cut away from under its feet and it will become the object of just punishment at the hands of Chinese law.

In conclusion, the present Konoye Cabinet is given up to one great aim—the bringing of an end in some way or other to the Sino-Japanese War. With that purpose in mind it devised the "New Structure" although it entailed breaking the spine of Japan's national being built up over half a century—the destruction of the Constitution, and the dissolution of the parties. And it caused Japan's participation in the Triple Alliance although this has brought her enemies on all sides. The upshot of all the recent Japanese political and diplomatic activity has been failure to put an end to the war and deepening of the gulf between the two nations. Such is the final outcome of the crime of aggression committed by the Konoye Cabinet and the ultimate expression of Japan's military and political defeat. One of the clearest features of the situation is the way in which the Japanese Constitution as the depository of law and the spirit of national institutions has been done away with. The utter destruction of the political, social, economic and even military basis of Japanese national life will inevitably follow. Whereas I remarked upon the ineffectiveness of the Wang Ching-wei regime as machinery for the pillage of all China, the Konoye Cabinet is indeed an all too effective instrument in the destruction of Japan.

Fellow-countrymen, the decisive day for the defeat of the enemy's aggression has arrived, the day of Konoye's recognition of Wang's government. The Japanese and their puppets are climbing into a common grave. China owes the victory in sight to the efforts and sacrifices of her army and people throughout the past three years and a half; she sees its approach only accelerated by this paltry event. We have now to meet the final demands the last stages of the struggle make upon our strength and endurance.

Light of New Hope

A New Year's Message delivered on January 1, 1941.

JANUARY 1, 1941.

TO ALL OFFICERS AND MEN OF THE ARMED FORCES AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN AT HOME AND ABROAD:

THE thirtieth year of the Republic begins today. Resistance has attained its fifth year of age. From this turning point in the years' revolving course, the work of Resistance and Reconstruction should go forward impelled by fresh efforts born of the significant and inspiring moment. Dr. Sun Yat-sen looked forward to the accomplishment of the Revolution within thirty years; in China we call thirty years a "generation"; and as a rule a man at the age of thirty attains his full physical and mental maturity, becoming master of himself and his destiny in the most creative and constructive period of his life. The Republic is now thirty years old, and yet the Revolution is still short of complete success. For nearly ten years the enemy has been in possession of the 1,300,000 square kilometers of our Northeastern Provinces. The nation and the people are passing through a time of trouble and affliction and, though the dawning light of victory is visible, great areas of our land remain under the heel of the invader and countless numbers of our fellow-countrymen are still suffering the worst cruelties his oppression can devise. When and how liberation is to come, the foundations of national reconstruction to be well and truly laid, the Three Principles of the People to be carried into practice, and China to achieve independence, freedom and equality among the nations—these are questions we must ask ourselves today. Seeing things as they are and in retrospect, we cannot fail to make a searching examination of our hearts and record, and resolve to intensify our efforts.

A review of the whole war situation shows us the enemy at the end of his tether; he has worked evil to his own satiety and the limit of his ingenuity. His failure is now a foregone conclusion,

while international events are constantly tending more to favor our cause. I need not make detailed mention of the facts composing this situation. I must have you all realize, however, that the enemy's fated ruin does not imply the real attainment of our victory. Our country and our people are not yet out of danger. The future of resistance has yet to encounter greater setbacks and difficulties. Our victory in this War of Resistance will consist in the completion of the task of reconstruction as a permanent guarantee of our people's existence and a substantial contribution to the good of humanity and the world. It is a war fought to complete the great enterprise of national revolution. For Resistance and Reconstruction are a single enterprise, two indivisible aspects of the same undertaking. We fight to remove obstacles to reconstruction, while at the same time we reconstruct in order to have the requisite strength to fight. We have to develop the potential energies of the nation before we can be sure of a success of lasting value and the final realization of revolutionary ideals. The work in which we are engaged is too vast and arduous to permit of the minutest defection, of the slightest speculative over-confidence in adventitious aid.

In the world of today the nations are everywhere pitting their integral forces in mortal competition with one another, striving to out-race and outlast one another. The energy which progressive nations are putting into their schemes of national defense and economic reconstruction should arouse in us a spirit of emulation and the determination to advance no less rapidly than they. The fact of China's unique wealth of natural resources should encourage us still more. Dr. Sun said: "A population of four hundred millions living in a land 42,700,000 square miles in area constitutes a source of wealth unequalled elsewhere in the world: an era of promise opens before men of promise possessed of a land of promise." Our present general backwardness has invited the aggression of the Japanese with the acute sufferings it has brought upon our citizens young and old, men and women alike. When we read over this extract from the teachings of Dr. Sun it must surely make us take thought for our past failings and the means of repairing them.

I would have you all take note that our work is now entering a new phase, wherein, after establishing in the past three and a half years of resistance a foundation for reconstruction, we have now

to make reconstruction itself the center of our concern. Many people think of Resistance and Reconstruction in terms of two separate stages. By doing so they display misapprehension of the essential and special characteristics of the Chinese Revolution. A worse error still consists in thinking, as some others do, that the success of resistance is to be followed by a period of ease and inactivity. The fact is that the work of reconstruction will prove even more exacting and important than resistance; it will call for a lengthier period of painstaking effort and of persevering endeavor if the difficulties are to be overcome and the constraints to be borne. During this time of war, therefore, we must press forward on the one hand with measures of reconstruction, while the object of these measures must be to actualize the Three Principles of the People and to create a China mistress of her soul and body, an independent nation fit to be a stone in the foundations of world peace. The Chinese people will then have fulfilled their great mission. That result will not be had without their grasping the significance of reconstruction and the factors indispensable to its success.

Dr. Sun expressed his revolutionary purpose in the words "To found and erect the Republic" and from the very first hours of Republican rule he untiringly promoted reconstruction that China might become a modern nation. In our Chinese phrase for "reconstruction"—*chien-she*—the elementary meaning of the word "*chien*" is that we see in those words—"*chien-li min-kuo*"—and all that appertains to the establishment of the country's well-being is reconstruction. Of all its aspects the most important is that of the economic requirements of national defense. In his outline of plans for industrial development written twenty-three years ago Dr. Sun projected a wholly adequate scheme for economic reconstruction which is also the best of designs for defensive reconstruction. To put national defense on a sound basis may be said to be the first step in the general reconstruction of the country. Look at Soviet Russia. How is it she has the strength to give practical effect to her peace policy, as she is commonly held to be doing? That strength she owes to the unremitting perseverance with which she has carried out her two five-year plans. We are not merely concerned to build up our capacity to meet the present destructive power of the enemy; in positively devoting ourselves to the work of economic reconstruction we have

in view the permanent protection of our independence, freedom, and existence in order that we may give what we can toward world peace. It is more with this higher ideal in mind that in the midst of war we should exert ourselves to put into good shape the economic groundwork of defense. The economic is, however, not the only side of reconstruction, nor is the material its only aspect. There is also the reconstruction of the mind, of personal relationships, of society and of politics that demand equally close attention for the strengthening and sound organization of national life. Ultimately the goal is complete realization of the Three Principles of the People and the establishment of the Five-Rights Constitution. Dr. Sun's "Outline of National Construction" and "Plans for National Reconstruction," his conceptions of the approach to democratic rule and the initiation of local autonomy must be systematically executed in an ordered sequence of procedure. I would impress upon you that the undertaking may be achieved the more easily rather than otherwise for its being attempted in war time, just as it is the more imperatively needed. We require only determination and awareness of the true significance of resistance, together with unanimous and wholehearted assent to Dr. Sun's philosophic conception of the power of knowledge to produce action. If, with that assent, we are of one mind and one purpose we shall be sure of complete success.

The work of reconstruction being even more arduous than resistance and its bearing on the future prosperity or decline, the survival or ruin of the nation, so important, we shall stand in need of a spirit of sacrifice and strict discipline. Not only at the front where soldiers have not to shrink from the hardship and peril of bloody combat is the spirit of sacrifice a necessity but also each citizen at whatever may be his post has to regard his duty and work as the first consideration in life, and his personal advantage a secondary matter, in all readiness to be self-denying and frugal to an extreme. In a word, the individual has to reduce his standard of living to the lowest point he can, while on the other hand he develops his ability to serve the State to the highest degree he can. We shall do well to take as models those democratic nations that took shape in periods of stress, each individual among us preparing to sacrifice his all, not to the exclusion of his life. Discipline consists in obedience to the laws and ordinances of the State, the maintenance of public

order and the offering up of personal liberty toward the attainment of freedom for the nation,—the removal from our name of its disgraceful reputation for laxity and disorder, and the creation of a new capacity for coherent and harmonious activity. Let us realize that the main reason for the success during the past thirty years of the Japanese policy of inciting separatism for the splitting of our country into fragments the easier to consume has been due to our own lack of order and discipline and to our inability to achieve unity, regularity and progress in our ways of living, thinking and acting. We failed to make our work accord with the demands of a new age, with the result that the enemy has subjected us to his insults and aggression. Insensibility and corruption exposed the nation to this ordeal.

We must one and all resolve to repair this injury to our honor, on the one hand in social life by putting Spiritual Mobilization into practice and on the other hand in the life of the individual by carrying out the precepts of the New Life Movement. This simply means that when every fellow-countryman is aware of the moral values of propriety and justice, honesty and honor, fulfilling his responsibilities and observing discipline, playing the part of a new man living in a new age—then shall we be able to create a new China.

The year to come will be a most trying and momentous period in our history: in it may be decided our fate, but that decision it is for us ourselves alone to make. With unity of thought and will, with sufficient devotion and zeal, we can make it record the laying of an immovable foundation for our future national life. If on the contrary we rest in false confidence on our oars, putting selfish interests before national ones, we shall court irreparable disaster, and earn undying obloquy. The nation's fate depends on our capacity for personal sacrifice, on our will to smash through obstacles. The time, loaded with its possibilities of infinite good and evil, may slip by us while we vacillate; it is for each of us to seize the matchless opportunity for exertion. The way to a great end is long; there can be no alienation of responsibility to others; only energy inspired by absolute awareness of the facts and issues is enough.

In conclusion, we are now fighting for nothing less than the success of the Revolution; in the course of this war we are striving to accomplish the rehabilitation of our nation. We have just read

President Roosevelt's speech of Sunday evening. He said that the forces of States leagued against all peoples living in freedom were being held back from the shores of America, and that China was fighting a great war in defense of freedom. He went on to emphasize the necessity of facing a danger that could not be escaped by frightened evasion; there could be, he said, no appeasement with ruthlessness, no reasoning with incendiary bombs. He warned the American people that to survive in the world today they stood in need of an economy on a war footing and permanent military preparedness. His penetrating and memorable words record the place of importance Chinese resistance has in regard to the world situation, and they lay down the essential principles that must guide the modern nation's policy. We cannot but feel stimulated and encouraged in no ordinary way to hear the American President address his people in such terms of solemn admonition and express at the same time so lofty a conception of our struggle. It is indeed a fact that resistance must be carried on regardless of whatever sacrifices it may require until it achieves the aim of rendering secure the freedom of China, and reconstruction must with us too provide permanent military preparedness. That is necessary if, in Dr. Sun's similar words, "the nation is to be assured of permanent existence in the world."

The point I wish particularly to impress upon you today is that the work of reconstruction must proceed simultaneously with the conflict in the field, strengthening as it proceeds the forces of resistance until they are able to attain a complete victory. Only thus will a proper response be made to the sacrifices of the men who have died and suffered for the cause, and to the sympathy and assistance extended to us by friendly nations. The war is fought to drive out the invader and restore the integrity of our territorial and administrative sovereignty; but it is also fought to assert the ideals of justice and fair dealing, to make possible the actualization of the Three Principles of the People and to establish a lasting peace in the Orient and the world. For thousands of years our people have been devoted to peace; after China has secured a place of independence and equality among the nations she will undoubtedly have much to contribute to the peace of the world. Were it not so we should not have been able so courageously to match ourselves against

the aggressor, to maintain our resolve through so many trials or to display such a spirit of sacrifice for the sake of constructing a new nation.

I have often said that we are waging a war of good against evil, of right against wrong and of equity against force, upholding justice and peace against a destroyer of justice and peace. The world scene is now illuminated by a light of new hope; the cause of justice is everywhere gaining new adherents. We see the Japanese ring-leaders of aggression exhausted and faltering at every step, they are rushing on their ruin, and with them the powers of evil are declining. The coming year will assuredly find justice and peace making their voices heard with increasing clarity and effect. The situation is such as to justify what I have said and hoped in the past; my declarations are proved as having been based on fact and no mere idealism; and the national policy is vindicated as thoroughly sound.

From this hour, however, the responsibility in which every citizen shares will grow heavier. I look to you all wherever you may be, at the front or in the rear or in distant lands overseas, to rouse yourselves to new enthusiasm in the working out of the sacred mission bequeathed us by the national martyrs and the Father of the Republic.

Burma-Chinese Relationship

Reply to a letter of greeting written by U Ba Lwin on the eve of the departure from Rangoon of the Second Goodwill Mission of the leading journalists of Burma. U Ba Lwin was President and Leader of the First Goodwill Mission to China.

JANUARY 18, 1941.

MY DEAR SIR:

IT WAS a great pleasure to have your letter of December 22. It brought to my recollection the days when in 1940 you paid your quite epoch-making visit to China at the head of the first goodwill mission ever organized as a means of deepening and enriching relations between Burma and China. We have observed much of the good fruit your enterprise has borne; the journalists' mission now in China is in itself an example. We are finding the presence of these successors of yours no less pleasant and profitable than our meeting with you.

The importance of the two countries' knowledge and understanding of each other can scarcely be exaggerated. Historically, geographically and economically the relationship of Burma with China is rightly to be considered intimate. References to your country occur in the earliest historical records of Chinese literature.

Facts regarding the peculiar kinship of our neighboring lands are not far to seek. The frontier between Burma and Yunnan is as open as that dividing Canada from the United States; there are no guards or fortifications. Your country is the only one in the world that imposes no immigration restrictions on Chinese citizens.

The war has been the indirect means of bringing us closer together. It has emphatically recalled both to you and us our mutual dependence upon one another. For while you recognized our cause as the cause of all Oriental nations, freedom and independence, we make no secret of the degree to which we rely on the Burma route to the west; the blockade has rendered it indispensable to us. Your

BURMA-CHINESE RELATIONSHIP

contribution to the promotion of friendship between the two countries is indeed the intellectual and spiritual counterpart of the feat of the builders of the Yunnan-Burma Road. In the victory you wish us you and your colleagues will share as men who have worked for it.

U Tun Than, the leader of the Press Party now on its way home, has expressed in the most gratifying terms his satisfaction with the purpose served by the journey he and his companions have made. We have been as much instructed by them as they can have been by their observations of wartime China.

I heartily reciprocate the aspiration you express as to an early repetition of your visit, and I think I may assure you a welcome at least as warm as that we tried to give you in 1940. Wishing you every success in your valuable work and a prosperous New Year,

I am,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) CHIANG KAI-SHEK.

The Function of Revolutionary Discipline

A speech delivered at the Weekly Memorial Service of January 27, 1941, being Generalissimo Chiang's first public reference to the New Fourth Army Incident.

JANUARY 27, 1941.

IT IS the 27th of January; the rapidly passing days have already carried us far from the New Year's Day of the thirtieth year of the Republic. In the few days that yet remain of this month all Party, government and army men must, no matter how busily occupied they may be, scrutinize the record of their past year's work and duly report upon it. In regard to the work of the year before you it is still more important for you to lay down solid and definite plans preparatory to pressing forward to accomplish more and make better progress than last year. Our advance to victory has arrived at a highly critical stage that requires of us more than ordinary vigilance and circumspection. It calls for unusual exertions if the final success of Resistance and Reconstruction is to be secured. Only by eliminating all negligence and irresponsibility that put the issue in jeopardy can we do our duty by the nation's soldiers and citizens who have bled and suffered for the cause, and solace the departed souls of the *Tsungli* and every martyr of the Revolution.

Speaking of the international situation it is no exaggeration to say that scarcely a day passes without some development to the advantage of our cause. With the Japanese the recent reassembly of their Diet has afforded a dismal spectacle of dumb acquiescence, evidencing only the almost utter destruction of its constitutional framework. In the speeches delivered by Konoye and Matsuoka we can readily discern their sense of impending ruin. Matsuoka made clear only the tendency of his dreams of aggrandizement to grow in extravagance with the approach of the day when disaster and defeat will shatter them all; this time he expatiated on the phrase "co-prosperity sphere of greater Asia," saying this sphere must be taken to embrace the South Seas generally, and yesterday

he went so far as to declare Japan requires control of the whole western Pacific area: the Philippines, Guam and Midway Islands, Australia, Vladivostok, the northern part of Sakhalin and the maritime province of Siberia were all to be brought within the sphere of Japanese influence.

During the past two weeks the Japanese have been playing up the New Fourth Army incident by the fabrication of a great batch of fantastic rumors aimed both at sapping the strength of our fighting spirit and at misleading world opinion with insinuations of disunion in our ranks. These rumors may be divided roughly into two categories. In the first place they state that since the Government took action in regard to the New Fourth Army there has been resulting dissension to the point of civil war. In the second place they claim that on account of the incident nations favoring and assisting us are about to change their attitude toward China. A close examination of the incident concerned and of its falsified interpretation in the rumors will show that the motive really lies in the apprehension aroused among the enemy by the determination we have displayed in the strict maintenance of military discipline. Everybody knows that since the war began the whole Chinese army and people have unanimously devoted themselves to struggle and sacrifice with a common allegiance to one command, one discipline and one policy. Only a negligible minority of degenerate traitors such as Wang Ching-wei have chosen to throw themselves under the dominion of the enemy and organize their slavish puppet regimes, dressing up their treachery the while in talk of feud and faction. The traitors and puppets, however, are now all living under the aegis of their masters' power. With the defeat of the Japanese, we shall also have procured their destruction.

Apart from them there are no phenomena in the China of today to which the name of internal disruption could be given and still less anything that could be called civil war. Questions of wartime discipline and obedience to military commands have nothing whatever to do with such possibilities. The Government's disposal of the problem presented by the conduct of the New Fourth Army was simply and solely a matter of enforcing military discipline: there can be no room for doubt on this point in the minds of Chinese or foreigners. The affair was unambiguous; the issue was uninvolved;

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the incident not abnormal. Disobedience and insubordination among army men naturally bring down punishment upon them. Acts of revolt, attacks on comrades-in-arms, the forceful occupation of territory and other actions obstructive to the prosecution of the war still more certainly demand the disembodiment of the troops concerned. The most rudimentary conception of the principles essential to military command would require it. Only minds to which the ideas of law and discipline are equally foreign such as those of the Japanese Junior Officers' Group would perceive anything extraordinary in action so obviously necessary; none but they would think of exploiting it as material for malicious exaggeration in propaganda.

Turning to the international aspect, I may observe that the record of four years' sympathy and assistance from friendly nations has shown them uniformly desirous of seeing strict discipline enforced in our armies as a means of rendering them efficient in resistance. There has been no instance of their finding cause for suspicion and dubiety in our checking insubordination for the sake of that very object. On the contrary, they will be gratified to see us do so. Perspicacious statesmen of nations friendly to China will express only approbation for action lending strength and progress to our national armies. For those nations help us because they hope we can display a spirit of robust self-mastery; they expect to see us able to carry our own laws into full effect and keep order in our armies. Reckless disorder in civil life or lawlessness and insubordination among our soldiers would mean a people without national spirit and an army without discipline; were we deserving of this description no one would care to assist us, and resistance would have been quite out of the question for us. The various rumors propagated by the enemy are such, in the light of these facts, that nobody of the slightest intelligence can fail to understand the nature of the motives for their fabrication, not to speak of swallowing them. Since the war began a number of cases of disobedience to orders and defiance of discipline have had to be dealt with; Han Fu-chu, Li Fu-ying and Shih Yu-san were three instances.* The behavior of the New Fourth Army,

*General Han Fu-chu, Governor of Shantung Province and Commander of the 3rd Route Army, and two other generals, courtmartialled and executed in 1938 for dereliction of duty in the War of Resistance.

its disregard of orders, attacks on comrades-in-arms and even acts of mutiny and sabotage had necessarily to be put an end to; it was purely a matter of the assertion of military law. There was not the minutest admixture of issues belonging to the sphere of politics and party relationships. This is the first point that must be clear to the minds of all.

With the three men I have just mentioned, the offense began and ended in the person of the individual. Let us now inquire why in the case of the New Fourth Army punishment had to extend to its abolition as a unit of the national forces. I will explain the distinction. Han Fu-chu, Li Fu-ying and Shih Yu-san acted solely on their own responsibility when they disobeyed orders. They did not incite their men to mutiny or lead them against another section of the national armies. The first of them was executed because he failed to obey the Government's order to hold his ground in eastern Shantung and instead wanted to withdraw westward into Shansi. Li Fu-ying was shot for his persisting in retreat when retreat had been forbidden him. Shih Yu-san was ordered to move his forces into western Honan, whereas he remained in the eastern parts of the province, imposing meanwhile upon the people of the area. The officers and men serving under these three offenders took no part in the insubordination of their superiors; they fully comprehended the principles at stake and concurred in the change of command, and the Government accordingly preserved them intact.

With the New Fourth Army it was otherwise; in November it was ordered by the High Command to move northward to engage the enemy in a certain appointed area. It elected not to respond, but waited until after the expiry of the period of time allotted, then made an arbitrary move southward, executing a premeditated maneuver leading to an attack in broad daylight upon the headquarters of General Shang-kuan Yun-hsiang in command of the 40th Division. This plainly mutinous proceeding caused its disbandment as a disciplinary necessity. The incident has its place in the category of similar action taken on other occasions during the war. There are now a dozen or so high-ranking commanders in confinement as a result of sentences passed on them for acts of insubordination, and of these some are men distinguished for their former zeal and merit who could be in no way thereby exempted from the penalty due

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their guilt. This is evidence of the indiscriminating severity of measures taken to maintain discipline in our armies. They depend for their very life, the nation depends for its very existence, and resistance for victory, upon the allowance of no indulgence to violators of that discipline, upon the Government's never overlooking such offenses. At the same time we have to avoid all over-hasty conviction of those under suspicion of bad intentions lest injustice should be done them. The Government, therefore, limited itself last year to adjurations, calling upon the New Fourth Army to have done with its constant failure to comply with orders. It obstinately persisted, however, in its evil courses and at last went beyond all bounds. The situation developed in a way imperatively demanding the most rigorous action.

My own feelings were of acute pain and shame, for the errors and failings of subordinates are to be laid at the door of their commanding officer. I felt personally responsible for this unhappy affair, wherein you must none of you find any cause for gratification. Although the incident has been disposed of, it remains a blot on the glorious record of resistance. In my capacity of Commander-in-Chief I am sensible of a distress exceeding that of any other person concerned. This is the second point I would have you all clearly understand.

Now let us ask what is the value of the rigid maintenance of military discipline. In it reposes a principle vital to the preservation of an army and a nation. Victory or defeat for resistance will turn upon the state of discipline in our armies. The mutinous attempt of the New Fourth Army to break away from the restraint of that discipline is a test of the Government's ability to keep it inviolate: it is, therefore, also an episode fraught with immense consequence to the nation's being. I acted as I did with the determination to protect army and nation from a threatening disaster. The alternative of letting things take their course, of giving mutineers their head, could but have resulted in military defeat and national ruin. Should I, charged with the duties of Commander-in-Chief, for the sake of a transitory avoidance of the disagreeable, nourish in my bosom the viper of disaffection, imperiling the integrity of the national forces, I should be guilty not only of dereliction of my duty but also of betraying every fighting man and every citizen who

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has made sacrifices for the cause of resistance. In the strictest sense of the words I should be leading my followers to destruction; my offense would be the greatest a Commander-in-Chief could commit. I am resolved to demonstrate to the nation the essential qualities of sound discipline. It applies to all equally; it is a rule to which no exceptions are permissible. This is my third point.

At the beginning of the war several friends spoke to me in the following sense: "The unification of the country is not yet complete, its military preparedness is inadequate, the international situation is unfavorable, there are many doing lip-service to the idea of resistance who are not really ready to support the Government's policy. We cannot fight Japan; for such a venture defeat is to be expected." My reply was to the effect that their attitude was wrong: they failed to realize the revolutionary character of our present Government and fighting forces. Our armies drew their strength not only from their weapons and equipment in matching themselves against the Japanese. We need not concern ourselves with difficulties that might possibly arise after the war. The relevant question was whether we possessed revolutionary principles and revolutionary discipline; what was the quality of our revolutionary spirit and determination. If we were confident, I said, of having such principles and discipline, such a spirit, and the determination to make sacrifices, if we had ascertained the sincerity of our intention to fight for the existence of our nation, we need not hesitate to throw ourselves into the struggle. As for the international situation, the hope of favorable changes in that must depend on our own showing; to wait for them to come before entering upon resistance would mean the indefinite postponement of success for the Revolution. We have ourselves to compel modifications in the attitude of the world toward us. A policy of wait-and-see in circumstances of such national peril would have meant waiting helplessly for death to claim us. For resistance is a stage in the process of Revolution: it is not some merely incidental adventure. At that time I expressed myself in these concise terms: "Essential to resistance is deliverance from fear of internal strife; fear of it would incapacitate us for resistance." When those friends observed my resolution they offered their unfaltering support, and now that the war has been in progress for nearly four years, the enemy is well on the way to

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defeat and we are within sight of victory, the complete soundness of my views and decision has been vindicated.

You must all grasp the two elements of our attitude: Toward the world, a proper dignity and self-respect, and efforts to deserve well of friendly nations; towards home affairs, strict discipline, the building up of our strength by all means with the aim of standing firmly on our own feet, our minds purged of any apprehension of internal disputes. In the event of an instance of rebellious conduct in the army it must be rigorously checked and the whole affair put in order, so that the evil may not impair the integral health of army and nation. I trust that no individual or party with the cause of national salvation and regeneration at heart will entertain any doubts as to the propriety of action taken by the Government to enforce discipline. While we oppose to the enemy the fullest possible measure of our strength, our serried ranks must answer to but one source of command, observe a common discipline. That is a basic condition for the attainment of victory.

You are all aware that the Government of China is a revolutionary one that can shatter any outward obstacles and suppress any internal rising against its authority. Had we during the years 1924-1926 laid aside our revolutionary mission for fear of internal opposition the Northern Expedition would never have been embarked upon. Every true revolutionary meets the obstacles and setbacks in his path with calm confidence in the fullness of his preparations. Revolutionary armies anywhere in the world have rarely been exempt from insurrectionary episodes; we need only ask whether a government claiming to be revolutionary has the ability to deal effectively with disaffection. If it is seen to go about the matter with a revolutionary vigor, especially where rebels are in arms, and uproot the evil, it will have achieved a victory that will contribute to the general success of its revolutionary endeavors. Now I can solemnly assure you our Government has both the determination and the ability to put down any incipient rebellion long before it could develop into civil war. That determination and ability are all the more certain at such a time as this when the whole people is pervaded with patriotic enthusiasm and loyalty to their fighting Government. We all share in the national life and honor we defend, with the exception only of traitors like Wang Ching-wei who pre-

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tend to represent a faction of opinion in the country while they go about the purely private pursuit of gain at its expense. Apart from these criminals, there are none so mad as to will the defeat of resistance.

There is yet another reason for the fact that the action taken against the New Fourth Army was unavoidable. Since the incident occurred the Japanese militarists have been rejoicing over the opportunity they think it provides them of fomenting sedition in our ranks. They are always on the look-out for signs of slack discipline and insubordination among us that might lead to national instability and eventual collapse. If we had not acted resolutely an indirect result would have been encouragement of the Japanese contempt for our national integrity and revolutionary spirit and a fillip to their lust for conquest. Actually the course we took was a downright shock for them, putting their tricks at naught and giving them disagreeably clear evidence of the revolutionary discipline and spirit, and the conception of nationhood prevailing in our armies, in contrast to the enervation of which they hoped to take advantage. Let me assure the Japanese militarists that their interests will in no way be served by the Government's procedure in regard to the New Fourth Army and that on the contrary it will brace up our discipline and invigorate our fighting spirit. The outcome will be quite the reverse of their expectations and all to their disadvantage. Speaking in terms of our internal necessities, the Government had necessarily to assert its authority in an unequivocal manner to safeguard the essential conditions for successful prosecution of the war.

By now I think you will all have absolutely clear in your minds the outstanding fact that the incident under discussion was a normal, ordinary and indispensable case of the functioning of military authority. I am convinced that all exaggerative and malicious deductions representing it as something more are to be attributed to the enemy. I also trust that no citizen with love of his country and loyalty to the cause of resistance will permit himself to be fooled by the Japanese rumors or be influenced by them to take any disproportionately grave view of the affair. When the order for the disbandment of the New Fourth Army was about to be issued attempts were made in quarters connected with it to extenuate its offense by means of a variety of insidious and far-fetched arguments. I

then dispatched representatives to make an indirect appeal to them not to add error to error but to lend the true support due from all Chinese citizens to the interests of national resistance. The Government at first refrained from publishing the facts concerning the New Fourth Army's culpable disregard of orders and this I told them was out of consideration for them, not weak procrastination or fear of consequences. If they were to add to their former misdemeanors the mendacious vilification of superior commanders and the Government without thought for the good name of their country in the world's eyes their conduct would be universally condemned as conduct to be expected only from China's enemies and traitors, or at least calculated to give the Japanese every satisfaction. They would not only fail, I warned them, to justify their misdeeds thereby but would also make themselves abominated by all their fellow-countrymen. True patriots among us must respect the law and obey commands, conform to discipline and free ourselves of all disingenuous dealings in our devotion to the cause, I declared. Subsequently the vindictive talk ceased, and I now believe no son of Han will serve the interests of the Japanese by echoing their exaggerated versions of the incident.

You must all realize that we did not immediately make the matter public because the New Fourth Army was a section of the national revolutionary army, of which I am the Commander-in-Chief. I have often compared the army to a family wherein I look upon the soldiers under me as a father regards his children. If his children behave well the father feels they reflect honor upon him; if badly, they disgrace him. I attempted to discharge my responsibility toward the New Fourth Army in the past by repeatedly warning it and imploring it to make a fresh start in the genuine service of the nation. I feared a premature revelation of its misdeeds might cut off its way to reform. My solicitude failed, however, to move them; they interpreted it as weakness and even timidity on the ground of their threats of precipitating civil war. Who will say that there could be any possibility of tolerating the perversity and reckless selfishness of men prepared deliberately to expose to the sight of the enemy the weaknesses of their own army as a means of intimidating their superior officers? In point of fact, however, the Japanese were no doubt well informed, perhaps better informed than we, regarding

the actions of the New Fourth Army. It was certainly not, therefore, for fear of letting them or the world know that we abstained from publishing the state of things for so long. All along the motive lay in the moral precept, held so important in Chinese society, of "keeping evil out of sight and bringing good to the fore." I have always observed this principle in my dealings with men in general and only the more studiously in dealing with soldiers under my command, to whom I feel bound in an intimacy equal to that of family relationship. The honor of my subordinates is as my own; their merit or demerit as my own. With this sense of personal responsibility for their misconduct I am ever reluctant to make it known. On this occasion, however, there came a point beyond which it was totally impossible to conceal the ugly facts. All of you will recall the New Testament teaching of forgiveness unto seventy times seven. The misdeeds of the New Fourth Army even exceeded that number; there was no further room for pardon, if I myself were not to become criminally negligent of my country's welfare.

Discipline is to be thought of as a bond of faith uniting all ranks of the army; its nature permits of no exceptions or partial treatment. So far as it is concerned all soldiers from Commander-in-Chief to private are on an equal footing. To feign blindness to its violation would mean my complete unworthiness of the trust reposed in me by the army. Only under the guarantee of its inviolability can all strive together for the sacred cause of resistance.

You are all acquainted with the fact that Japan finds herself in her present plight simply because her army men have set legality at naught and made a sport of discipline while her government has been powerless to uphold the law and enforce discipline. The Mukden Outrage came about as a result of the arbitrary action of the Japanese Junior Officers' Group who disobeyed their Emperor's commands and disregarded their government's directions pursuing their ambitious schemes free from all restraint. Consequently there followed the Tokyo incident of May 15, 1932, still without the government exercising any check on those responsible for the bloody event of that day. Then again in 1938 there was open rebellion in the Japanese capital, the killing of elder statesmen and cabinet ministers and the overthrow of the government. Finally, with the Lukouchiao Incident war on a scale unprecedented in the Orient

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was brought about, threatening the destruction of world civilization. All this can be put down to the Japanese government's inability to maintain its authority and punish insubordination. The fact that the Japanese army can still continue its war of aggression in China, however, is due to the measure of disciplined habits preserved by the High Command. War-weary as they may be and ill-disposed to continue the war, they must make the best shift they can to obey orders. This indicates the vital character of the observance due to orders that suffices to keep the spiritless Japanese army in the field as nothing else could. With the very different motives and spirit animating our forces it is nevertheless imperative that we show the same unquestioning obedience to commands.

If henceforth all sections of our forces carry out their orders, adhere strictly to the plans laid down by the High Command and fulfill the precise duties allotted them, the Government will naturally look upon them with indiscriminating solicitude for their well-being, providing each an opportunity to make its full contribution to a victory in the glory of which all will share equally. Now the New Fourth Army has been abolished, the question has been settled and no other question remains. Our Government has always been liberal and considerate toward all sections of the national forces, while I regard my soldiers as the members of a family of which I am head. An affair involving unbecoming action causes me pain and shame, and all of you too will, I hope, consider this incident as a great disgrace to the Revolution, an incomparably regrettable page in the history of resistance, and take it as a warning example of the consequences inevitable to such conduct, encroachment upon areas not assigned to you, obstruction of the movements of other troops, the seizure of their arms, the confiscation of the people's weapons and food, and so on. You must moreover see to it that, on the contrary, troops function to the advantage of the people and give stability to the social order, especially in areas behind the enemy lines where solidarity of army and people is so essential. Let this affair be a stimulus to our faith in Resistance and Reconstruction; let good come of evil.

In conclusion, the incident is not to be considered as something negative, but as of positive value. Firstly, it has proved a sharp disappointment to the enemy's hopes of seeing internal dis-

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ruption weaken the strength of the nation's will and ability to resist. Secondly, it has produced a vindication of the quality of our discipline, with an invigorating and salutary effect upon the morale of our forces. Had the action not been taken the Japanese would have felt more sure than ever of our worthlessness and of the feasibility of their aggressive designs. All our troops having been made aware of the motives of the Government in at first refraining from publication of the facts and of its subsequent severe procedure, they will know that all was done in the interests of resistance and they will be warned of its determination to act with similar resolution in any similar case.

Discipline is a criterion whereby the efficiency of the Government as a revolutionary and fighting government may be judged and the degree of soldiers' sincerity in devotion to the defense of their country be assessed. Apart from the preservation of sound discipline, no other issue whatever was involved in the Government's action. Nor did the behavior of the New Fourth Army have any connection with other parts of the national forces. The incident was entirely free from any political character. The Government is absolutely committed to the respect of all groups and parties that conform to the provisions of the program for Resistance and Reconstruction; it legally safeguards their rights of freedom and independence. An infringement of the law by them would of course require the exercise of the law to restrain them. I constantly say to friends that though victory is near the country is not yet past the period of danger and while the crisis lasts people in all positions throughout the land should observe particular caution to avoid giving rise to obstructions to national unity and effort. The Government, however, cannot neglect its most important duties or fail in its responsibilities for the sake of such caution, though to the limited extent possible it kept silence for this reason in regard to the activities of the New Fourth Army.

My hope is that the whole country will of one accord observe strict discipline, obey orders and throw its whole weight into the strength to accomplish our revolutionary mission.

National Defense First

*A speech given at the inaugural session of the
Second People's Political Council, March 1, 1941.*

MARCH 1, 1941.

THE second session of the People's Political Council assembles today for the first time. I am here as the representative of the Supreme National Defense Council to say a few introductory words and first of all to extend a warm welcome to all you Councilors present. We may well congratulate ourselves upon the patriotic and public-spirited enthusiasm that, with the war in its fifth year and all the national energies concentrated upon the struggle for survival, has brought Councilors together from all parts of the country, some, in particular, having made their difficult and dangerous way here from provinces in the occupied areas. Scarcely anything more glorious and memorable will be recorded in the history of resistance. The Council has met five times since it was originally convened on the occasion of the first anniversary of the outbreak of war and during these three years it has afforded the Government highly valuable assistance in the execution of the national policy of Resistance and Reconstruction. It has been a great force working for solidarity which has attracted the attention of the whole world and inspired our whole army and people.

The world situation is now more critical than ever and the importance of resistance looms larger from day to day. The present session of the Council, therefore, has not only to carry on the work of the previous session but also to anticipate and provide for the needs of a new situation. Your fellow-citizens and the Government cherish correspondingly greater expectations of you.

I propose today to present you a succinct report on the course of government administrative measures since the Council last met and on the more significant aspects of the current phase of the war. I wish also to take this opportunity of voicing my own personal faith regarding the future.

Since the Provisional National Assembly of the Kuomintang passed its resolution sanctioning the Outline Program of Resistance and Reconstruction and the first meeting of the People's Political Council unanimously expressed its approval and support of the Government's policy, the Program has become a creed universally subscribed to by the entire army and people, and the basis of all national policy. On each occasion it has met, the Council has framed important resolutions in accordance with the requirements of that Program. For three years, it may be said, the work of the Government has been exclusively guided by its provisions and by the desire strictly to adhere to the suggestions of the Council. Ministers and other responsible officials will give you detailed reports of what has been undertaken and achieved since the Council last adjourned. Generally speaking, the main aim of all the Government's measures has been the strengthening of the country's power to resist and the establishment of a sound framework for reconstruction. Among the preliminaries in reconstruction much has been done to hasten the day of rule by law, to prepare the way to constitutional government and to build up the system of local autonomy in districts smaller than the *hsien*; production has been stimulated, communications developed, economic control rendered more effective. Objective limitations and fluctuating war circumstances have caused our achievements in many respects to fall short of what had been hoped. These deficiencies the Government is determined to do its best to remedy and in its efforts to do so it is eager to have the full co-operation of this Council.

Of the situation as things stand between the enemy and ourselves it may be truly said that it conforms now, and has conformed during the past two years or more, to the course we anticipated. From the time when the war entered its second stage with the fall of Hankow the Japanese have gradually come to find themselves at a military disadvantage. We on the contrary have been constantly recruiting fresh strength, acquiring the will and the ability to take the offensive. It is true that after the winter of 1939 the enemy made two reckless forward moves in his penetration of southern Kwangsi and western Hupeh, but in the autumn of last year he was compelled to withdraw ignominiously from Kwangsi and in Hupeh he has fallen into a position wherein he has the utmost difficulty in maintaining

himself. Taking a comprehensive view of the military situation, we see the enemy debilitated and discouraged by the long-drawn-out inconclusiveness of his operations, while the Chinese fighting strength and spirit are still mounting. The defeat of the Japanese is all but consummated, both in the field of battle and in the sphere of diplomacy. Their refusal to admit and realize their military failure has enhanced their diplomatic ineptitude; in vain have they thought to find a way out of their difficulties in diplomatic trickery, by alternately threatening and bribing various countries of Eastern Asia. All Powers on friendly terms with China have come fully to realize that there is no room for compromise with such insatiable aggressors as the Japanese. They also now have fresh faith in the certainty of Chinese victory. So far from yielding to the bullying or blandishments of Japan they are increasing their aid for China's cause. All nations whose interests are affected by events in the Pacific are by now aware of the boundless extent of the Japanese ambitions, they are taking firm and concerted action, and there is consequently a rapid clarification of the Pacific situation proceeding such as the Japanese militarists have always feared. And this, is, moreover, a sign of a coming worldwide clarification of issues.

In his political offensive the enemy for two years or more past has, both by the continual manufacture of peace rumors and by recruiting the services of traitors, tried to shake the will of the Chinese people and influence the established policy of the Government. In March of last year he formally set up the puppet administration in Nanking having a short time previously published the long "secret" pact with Wang Ching-wei. China, however, is united in purpose and growing in strength; her whole army and people stand four-square and proof against insidious Japanese tricks and rumor offensives. The world's contempt for the Japanese militarists has increased in proportion to its better acquaintance with their motives. Because in the first period of the war we strove alone but undismayed, confident we were fighting a force that imperilled justice and peace throughout the world, we now find our resistance the concentration point of efforts exerted by many other countries in the Pacific area.

Coming to speak of internal events and conditions in Japan, we observe that political bankruptcy has led to the appearance of a

"new political structure" and economic bankruptcy has produced a "new economic structure"—both names for desperate remedies that are bound to prove quite ineffectual as means of averting Japan's national ruin or even prolonging her uncertain hold on life. The likelier effect of these devices will be to render the final collapse of the militarists more shocking and catastrophic. During the twenty-four or so months past we have succeeded in laying the foundation of victory and that has not been the work of any limited group of men but the outcome of all the courageous efforts and sacrifices of army and people. To this achievement have contributed numberless episodes, recorded and unrecorded, of heroic devotion to the cause, at the thought of which I, as Commander-in-Chief, am profoundly stirred, and long worthily to act up to my fellow-countrymen's hopes of me.

The facts I desire now to call your attention to are; the inevitability of the enemy's defeat and the general advantageousness of the present situation in all its aspects. We cannot permit these facts, however, to weaken our determination to be prepared to face the worst eventualities conceivable; we must rather intensify both our caution and vigor as the day of victory draws near. We need a thorough grasp of the significance of the present world scene, and it is with that necessity in view that I propose to give you an account of my own beliefs regarding the future founded on my observations of that scene. Following the outbreak of the European conflict the evil of war has been steadily extending its shadow over a greater area, and the horrors produced by the use of modern weapons and the overthrow of countries small and large have astounded the mind of humanity. Nations everywhere have been impressed with the urgency of defensive measures to preserve their independence and freedom. A tide of nationalistic feeling is rising and as yet has only begun to inundate the world. We are convinced that the tendencies apparent in the march of world events accord with the traditional conceptions of the Chinese nation and that they are certain eventually to advantage our cause.

At the same time we must not lose sight of the fact that in this warring world survival is impossible to a nation not resolute and strong enough to defend itself. In Eastern Asia there can be no taking Japan's designs and ambitions lightly or ignoring the way in

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which she is constantly scheming to make the European war the means of giving substance to her dream of conquest despite failure in China. The recent tentative steps of the Japanese toward invasion of the South Seas should put us on our guard; we must bear in mind that this is only a feint, their real object still being the destruction of China. They will certainly make a final attack on us during the initial stages of the southward move; in fact, the new campaign would be inseparable from the old. The creation of "Manchukuo" and the recognition of Wang Ching-wei outraged us sufficiently, but the so-called "New Order for 'Greater' Eastern Asia" and the "'Greater' Eastern Asiatic sphere of co-prosperity" are still more atrocious insults to China and the whole of Eastern Asia. The addition of this word "greater" to these phrases has been made presumably to forewarn all concerned of Japanese claims to proprietorship over the vast resources and territories of the South Seas, of their intention to tighten the blockade of China and carry out other parts of their program for domination in the Pacific. You are all aware that for us the South Seas are not merely the second fatherland of some ten million fellow-countrymen resident there; their fate is bound up with our own existence and security. A Japanese attack on the South Seas would undoubtedly imply a grave menace to China. The enemy, despite his non-success, is yet far from regretting his folly; and the European conflict has whetted his appetite anew. He is speculating upon the chances of a bold throw, by risking all perhaps to gain all. We have not only firmly to maintain resistance in the defense of our soil but also to protect the world and the Orient from the most vicious of aggressors. The present time is a period of transition in the development of the world situation and it is also the final stage of our struggle with the Japanese.

We find ourselves at this historic point of time possessed of prestige won in more than three years of bloody warfare, and charged with responsibility heavier than ever before. For the past ten years China has been repeatedly warning the world that the maintenance of world peace depends upon the restraint of Japanese aggression. Because the warning went unheeded the world has been plunged into the present ocean of calamity. When China took up arms in solitary opposition to the Japanese militarists'

formidable power and succeeded in pinning down forces of which they might otherwise have made predatory use elsewhere in the Pacific, she was playing the part of prophetic leader in the cause of peace and at the same time was the vanguard of action to vindicate that cause. That is now an evident fact. The world has awarded us its sympathy and confidence and our relations with countries sharing interests in common with us have been rendered closer. Chinese resistance has ceased being isolated and unilateral, becoming rather a pivotal factor in world security and order. Under these fresh circumstances, I ask all you Councilors to carry your efforts a step further, keeping before your minds a clear conception of the great goal to be attained.

Let me describe that goal. Firstly, resistance must issue in victory, in the final victory that will smash the "New Order for Eastern Asia" together with the "New Order for 'Greater' Eastern Asia." Our standpoint has never shifted. We intend to fight Japanese aggression to the point of exhaustion, restore the integrity of our territorial sovereignty and permit ourselves no rest until the day of the extinction of the Japanese militarists' ability to threaten the peace of the world. There is no room for compromise with our present antagonist. Secondly, national reconstruction must give the country such defensive preparedness as can guarantee it absolute security. The Three Principles of the People demand a State with solid provision for national defense, with developed democratic institutions and a prosperous livelihood for its whole people. The Principles conceive of national defense as having only the protection of the State as its object; it cannot possibly conflict with the people's authority and livelihood which indeed it exists to safeguard. Today our national strength is making rapid strides and the international situation seems entirely favorable to us, but in order to win final victory, respond to the demands of our part in world affairs and fully acquit ourselves of our weighty responsibilities, we have yet to work for the thorough awakening of our people to the realities of their position. Our past efforts, we must realize, are inadequate in the face of the needs of today and tomorrow. The completion of our national defenses is an indispensable prerequisite for the completion of the work of national reconstruction as a whole. Therefore all reconstructive activities at present must be subordinated to

the requirements of national defense and the entire people must adopt a military cast of life.

Only the capability for self-defense can safeguard democracy; without the will to strive there can be no real democracy. Taking these maxims as a text I wish to bring forward the following views which I hope will find their way through you to the ears of my fellow-countrymen generally.

In matters political, all my fellow-countrymen must have their minds quite clear regarding the fact that political partisanship and ideological bias to the so-called "left" or "right" are now the outworn and useless lumber of a past age and utterly incompatible with the realities of the day. Let us face those stern realities and learn from our experience in this way to make our first aim the building of absolutely reliable national defenses. The European war has demonstrated that only nations with the will and the ability to strive can be sure of survival and avoid conquest and enslavement. A modern nation moreover when once conquered by an alien power finds, by reason of the present highly developed technical nature of the military art and the inexorable rigidity possible to modern methods of economic control, that it will never be able unaided to recover its lost independence. Nations conquered today are powerless ever again to assert themselves; this is a point of dissimilarity between conditions now and those obtaining twenty or thirty years ago. Only a political system adapted to the strains of war is serviceable in this new age. A democracy unable to defend itself is a contradiction in terms. What democratic institutions remain to a conquered nation? The capital and labor alike of a conquered country belong to the conqueror, and in such a country all political opinions and programs are equally valueless. The Kuomintang is working for a republican revolution of which the aim is national salvation. It is seeking to secure for China freedom and equality of status among the nations of the world and its consistent policy is to solidify the strength of the people and build up national defense. It has always loudly declared to the public the importance of national defense and it is now leading the nation in a tremendous campaign of national self-defense such as has never before been seen. In order properly to fulfill this duty it has freed itself of all

party prejudice, appealing to all citizens simply and solely for action to protect their country. It is adjusting the functioning of Government with a view to raising the standard of administrative efficiency; it is hastening the institution of local autonomy with a view to establishing a sound basis of democracy. The postponement of the meeting of a national convention only renders the more pressing the Government's responsibility of bringing into existence a strong basic political organization of local representative machinery. The tide of events forces upon the Party an unprecedentedly heavy burden of responsibility. It has to call upon everyone to recognize the supremacy of the nation's interests and abandon old notions out of place in these days in order to make the nation a strong and unified fighting body—a China equal to the task of defending herself and vindicating justice.

The Party demands of everyone better knowledge and faith, fitter thought and action, in all that concerns national security. The very center of national reconstruction in future must be the building up of the army and it is necessary to organize the political, economic, educational and cultural life of the nation and even private life on a war footing. On the one hand, the training of troops will be strengthened, the conscription system improved, military training rendered universal, and fighting technique raised to a higher standard. On the other hand, the people's sense for the needs of national defense will be sharpened and fighting discipline better enforced. This is the time to establish an economic basis for national defense. Economic measures taken for this purpose now are not to be limited to the present period of resistance but carried forward until the day the nation can feel perfectly safe in its defensive preparedness. The Government must take steps to adjust production and finance, improve communications and methods of transportation, ask of the people frugality and hard work, and concentrate the country's capital resources. The Government and the people must work in unison to conserve those resources, develop war industry, raise the national power of production, extend effective control over all economic activity, nourish and stabilize the people's means to subsistence. Beyond the needs of our own defense and progress, I believe that the reinforcing and development of China's economy will be of immense benefit to the whole world. At the end of the first European war

Dr. Sun drew up an industrial plan* which can not only serve the Government well as a fundamental policy for the reconstruction of national defense, but is also, when the broadest and longest view of affairs is taken, seen to be indispensable as a guide to future economic policy in general. Today a war of dimensions far greater than those of the last European war is in progress and it will bring about correspondingly more far-reaching changes. If at its conclusion China can obtain modern machinery and technical skill for the development of her economic possibilities she will be in a position to relieve the distress and chaos produced by world economic maladjustment and give the Orient a foundation for lasting peace. For this, however, to come about it is first necessary to make sure of her ability to stand the economic strains of the present time. A nation incapable of bestirring itself on its own behalf has no right to expect foreign financial and technical assistance and collaboration on a basis of equal and reciprocal advantage. We must be absolutely clear on this point.

In matters of education and culture, of private and public life, greater efforts are required to conform to this conception of the dominant needs of national defense. We must elevate the moral quality of national life, stimulate the pursuit of scientific knowledge and skill, make elementary education universally available, and encourage labor and service until every citizen is able and willing to play his full and proper part in national defense and reconstruction. Support for the wounded and relatives of the fallen, relief of distress, protection of those unable to shift for themselves, improvement of public health and physique are aspects of the work necessary for the security and soundness of the population. Without effective national defense there can be no State, no livelihood for the people. The whole spirit of the Three Principles of the People lies in their emphasis upon national defense as the guarantee for national prosperity; it must be the focus of all policy and planning, the criterion for all political activity. The individual must restrict his personal needs as far as possible and develop his energy to the utmost. We must throw aside all out-of-date and narrow ideas of the conflicting interests of groups and reform habits of indulgence, slackness and

*Dr. Sun's plan was embodied in a book entitled *The International Development of China*, published in 1922.

idleness. I am convinced the nation is capable of far greater concentration of purpose and action in mobilizing and organizing its strength. At the same time it is no less imperative for us to work in the closest possible co-operation with all other countries that oppose Japanese aggression.

Looking at the world today we see vast changes going on: the moral and material life of humanity will undoubtedly be profoundly modified by them and all political and economic theories will be recast as a result. One thing, however, appears certain: that a nation must be armed and organized with modern efficiency if it is to survive, while thought and action incompatible with national fighting strength stand to be eliminated by the demands of the times. Looking at China we are aware of her excellent natural advantages, the fighting spirit of her people, and the generous aid and sympathy for her cause extended by countries friendly to her. Japan we see internally exhausted and externally menaced on all sides. Our national future may be said to be richly promising. The key to victory, however, remains in our ability to grasp the new realities and make new efforts. On this occasion of the Council's meeting I have given you this account of my beliefs in the hope that this session will work with a due sense of the present state of world affairs and national needs, contributing to the best of its ability to national leadership to the end of final victory by the completion of the task of building up national defense.

Solidarity Defeats the Enemy

In this message, delivered on March 6, 1941, Generalissimo Chiang explained to the People's Political Council the Government's attitude toward the Communists' demands, the satisfaction of which they required as a condition for the attendance of their members of the Council.

MARCH 6, 1941.

I INTEND, as a representative of the Government, to explain today its attitude toward the conditions laid down by the Communist members of the Council. Before I make any report I wish to state that the Government did not originally intend to declare publicly its stand on its relations with the Chinese Communist Party. Now that the latter has, however, formally telegraphed these demands to the Council, which is an organ of national opinion, it has acted in a manner quite unlike that usually characterizing its words and deeds. It is, therefore, incumbent upon the Government and the Council to make a formal declaration of their attitude in the interests of the nation, the War of Resistance and the future of national reconstruction. A nation, and more especially when it is engaged in mortal combat with an aggressor, depends for its very life upon the maintenance of discipline, order and the necessity of the Government's writ being obeyed. Given a sound framework of discipline and legality it will be able to overcome whatever perils and difficulties come in its way. If, on the other hand, its military command is not unified and its authority questioned, it will meet with defeat no matter how strong its armed forces may be. We are now pitting the whole strength of the nation against the Japanese militarists in a life-and-death struggle. The fate of our nation is hanging in the balance. It is a time when we must give the most scrupulous attention to the upholding of order and authority in the State. In all matters—whether political, social or party problems—not involving conflict with, or obstruction to national order and authority, there

is room for frank and open adjustment of differences in search of rational solutions. This has always been the policy and attitude of the Government in relation to the Chinese Communist Party: the achievement of unity by means of mutual concessions in the face of external aggression and the attainment of success in Resistance and Reconstruction.

I understand that the Secretariat of the Council has received two sets of demands from the Chinese Communist Party entitled: firstly, "rehabilitation measures"; and secondly, "measures for a provisional settlement"—each set containing twelve points. I can assert that though these demands were received by members of the Council before it assembled, no government institution or individual member of the Government, nor I myself, received them. Now that we have seen them we are, first of all, astonished at the wording of the titles and next, at the formal resemblance of the contents to the demands made by the Japanese prior to the Lukouchiao Incident. One is particularly and painfully reminded of the so-called "Three Principles" announced by the Japanese at that unhappy time. The Chinese Communists are as much citizens of the Chinese Republic as we all are, and yet their presentation of such demands at such a time as this would seem clearly to indicate their intention of taking up a hostile attitude to the National Government and the People's Political Council. We think, therefore, the least said the better, and do not regard it as necessary to rebut each point in detail. It is sufficient to classify the sense of the demands into three main categories of "military," "political" and "party" affairs. The first eight points of the first set of demands regarding "rehabilitation measures" and the first, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth points of the second set regarding "measures for a provisional settlement" belong to the category of military affairs. The ninth and twelfth points of the first set and the third, fourth and fifth points of the second set belong to the category of political affairs, while the tenth and eleventh points of the first set and the eleventh and twelfth points of the second set belong to the category of party affairs. A brief explanation of the bearing of the sense of the demands under each of these three heads upon Resistance and Reconstruction is indispensable.

Firstly, the demand is, in effect, that the Government should not

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suppress disobedient and rebellious troops, that government authorities should be punished for so doing and that the losses of the mutineers in such rebellions should be compensated.

Secondly, the implication is that the Government should establish special areas outside the sphere of its authority, recognize the existence of anomalous political organizations and restrict its power to check illegal activities on the part of organizations or individuals. Recognition of a so-called "democratic authority in the enemy's rear" is also demanded. The logical outcome of all this would be disaster,—such a disaster as must invariably follow any attempt by a party to take advantage of enemy invasion in order to seize supreme power.

Thirdly, the sense of the demands is that the Communist Party should enjoy a special status and special rights and that the Government should not deal with the Communist members of the Council on the same footing as it deals with all other members belonging to other parties or to none. The Government not being ready to comply, the Communists have refused to attend the present meeting of the People's Political Council. In essence this is really what the demands amount to. I think that when the Communist Party produced them it did not perhaps realize they were of so drastic a nature. But were the Government to accept them without protest, China would scarcely be any longer worthy of being called a nation or the People's Political Council an organ of the national will.

Now I shall further expound the attitude of the Government toward these three categories of demands.

In the category of military affairs the consistent policy of the Government has been to nationalize our armies. That is, under the supreme command of the National Government there is but one system of national armies, and there can be no second system of armies under the control of individual parties or private persons. I can categorically assure the Council that the national revolutionary army is the army of the State and in no way the army of any particular party whatever. It is, therefore, absolutely out of the question to regard a section of it as belonging to the Communist Party. There can be but one source of command. Should a second presume to assert itself, it would be indistinguishable from the "military council" of Wang Ching-wei's puppet regime and accordingly de-

tested and abjured by the whole country. It is inconceivable that the Communists, if devoted to the cause of resistance, should take up such a position.

Next, the political principle of the Government is to democratize the national political system. All citizens, individually or in organized bodies, while they conform to discipline, should shoulder their responsibilities, fulfill their duties and enjoy their rights, possess all due freedom of action, but sovereignty is indivisible. If a second source of political authority were to be allowed to exist outside the Government—such, for example, as might be called by the name of a “democratic authority behind the enemy lines,” mentioned in these demands—it would not differ from the traitorous administrations in Nanking and Manchuria. Not only would the Government find it intolerable, but the whole country would see in it an irreconcilable enemy.

Although as a result of the nation's historical development there is now but one party exercising administrative power, while others of varying size and permanency are “in opposition,” yet all parties exist in a spirit of equality with one another, this being nowhere more markedly visible than in this democratic institution, the People's Political Council. Here all are equal rather as citizens than as parties. There could be no room for a special status of one party or demands for special rights, such as would vitiate the sprouting of our democratic institutions. I hope that all of you councilors will fully comprehend the nature of this considered and unvarying stand of the Government regarding its relationship with political parties.

Now I would like to elaborate somewhat upon the military aspect of the matter. From the time in 1938 when the 18th Army Corps, in defiance of the orders of the High Command, arbitrarily withdrew to the right bank of the Yellow River and forcibly carried out an illegal occupation of the Sui-Teh district, the Government has been loath to consider this move as instigated solely by the Communist Party, or to hold that party guilty of sabotaging resistance; nor did it think that any such motive was necessarily behind the 18th Army Corps' insubordination. Nevertheless, the effect extended even to the rear where it created general uneasiness on account of the potential dangers it threatened. The result was highly damaging

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to the whole prosecution of the war, putting a weapon into the hands of the enemy and imperiling the nation in the gravest manner. During the past two years or more the Government has been simultaneously unifying the fighting efforts of the whole army at the front and stabilizing the internal condition of the nation in the southwest and northwest of the rear. It is an exceedingly distressing fact that while all other countries in the world present a united front to external aggression, with us the Government finds added to the task of waging war on an invader that of settling internal troubles. Surely such a state of affairs is not to be paralleled in the history of any other revolutionary country. However, the precautions taken by the Government have been such as to avert any disaster either at the front or in the rear and the country may reckon this as great good fortune. Despite this danger, we find our capacity to withstand the enemy strong enough to ensure our final victory and also a sound and formidable foundation laid for stability in the rear. Had it been otherwise and had timely measures not been taken, by now the provinces of the south and northwest, if not long overrun by the enemy, would have been ruined by the escapades of rebels and anti-social elements; and the people in the rear would be living in such insecurity as those that suffer in provinces behind the enemy lines, in Hopei, Chahar, Shantung and Kiangsu where the National Government and its armed forces cannot protect them from the double oppression of the Japanese and the puppets.

However, the fact remains that the forces of resistance are considerably weakened by the enforced retention in the rear of large numbers of troops who might be fighting at the front. This also imposes a grievously depressing weight upon the spirits of the whole army and people. The problem is one that is really not difficult to solve. All that is required is a complete change in the attitude and actions of the Communist Party, in no longer regarding the 18th Army Corps as its peculiar possession or as an instrument for the obstruction of other sections of the national forces to the detriment of resistance. Let the Communists carry out the declaration they themselves made in 1937 wherein they said: (1) Dr. Sun's Three Principles of the People serve the needs of present-day China and the Chinese Communist Party is prepared to strive for their complete fulfillment; (2) they would abandon all violent action and

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policy aimed at the overthrow of the Kuomintang, the movement for the propagation of communism in China, and the policy of violent confiscation of landowners' holdings; (3) they would abolish the then Chinese Soviet government in the Northwest and work toward a united democratic government for the whole country; (4) they would abolish the name and status of the Red Army and permit its incorporation into the national revolutionary army under the command of the National Military Council of the National Government.* If they would now but faithfully carry out their original intention to comply with these conditions and move all the troops connected with their party according to the plans laid down by the National Military Council into the areas appointed for them to defend, the whole country could be united to meet the invader, there would be an end of internal obstacles and anxieties, and it would be possible to deal the exhausted enemy a tremendous blow which I am convinced would bring about within a short time a most sensational victory. At least we could restore the lines held in the autumn of 1938; of this the military authorities are in no doubt. Then lost territory would be recovered and our fellow-countrymen delivered from their sufferings. This would be an immense contribution of the 18th Army Corps to the national cause and the whole country would admire the patriotism of the Communists. Our Government has no other demand to make of the Communist Party and the troops connected with it save this one fervent wish that they will carry out the obligations into which they themselves freely entered and support the Program of Resistance and Reconstruction to which the People's Political Council gave its unanimous endorsement. It merely hopes that the Communists will cast off all party prejudice and put the interests of the nation first by obeying orders, maintaining discipline and working in harmony with all their comrades-in-arms.

There are also two other groups of these demands which have an intimate relation with military affairs: what the Communists call the "prevention of provocation," the "withdrawal of the anti-Communist forces in Central China" and the "immediate cessation of all attacks on us." These three points call for some remark.

*See Generalissimo Chiang's statement on "National Solidarity," issued on September 24, 1937, subsequent to the United Front pledge given by the Chinese Communist Party, page 41.

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This sort of senseless, mendacious, misleading and malicious propaganda vilifies our Government and deliberately injures the sacred mission of resistance, but, more than that, it offers insult to the pure spirit of the whole country's united battle against aggression. I need scarcely assert that our Government is solely concerned with leading the nation against the Japanese invaders and extirpating the traitors, and is utterly without any notion of again taking up arms to "suppress the Communists." It desires never again to hear of that ill-omened term which now has a place only in Chinese history. Let them obey orders, give up their attacks on their comrades-in-arms and cease all their provocative acts; the Government will then treat them with all possible consideration. The Government is, moreover, desirous of showing generosity and of letting bygones be bygones. In defense of our national interest it cannot, however, fail to punish and check insubordination, for it would otherwise fail in its duty to the nation. For loyal soldiers it has such a loving solicitude that the charge of provocation and attack is absurd. I can make myself responsible for the statement in your presence that at no future time could there conceivably be another campaign for the suppression of the Communists. I hope that you will address an appeal to Mao Tse-tung, Tung Pi-wu and the other Communist members of this Council to effect a change in the attitude of their party so that we can discuss here all together the questions they have raised and arrive at some reasonable solution of them. You represent the will of the nation and your bounden duty is to strive for the success of Resistance and Reconstruction and national unity. If the Communist Party will only accept your advice, and say and do nothing in future contrary to the Program of Resistance and Reconstruction and their own manifesto of 1937, the Government will undoubtedly respect whatever resolutions you may adopt for the settlement of the incident and see that they are carried fully into effect without delay.

In conclusion, provided unity can be preserved and resistance carried on to the end, the Government will be ready to follow your directions in the settlement of all outstanding questions. I call upon the Communist members of the Council to realize the national danger at this time of mortal combat with the invader and, acting in the spirit of the saying "brothers quarrel at home but go out together to repel assault from without," to accept the judgment of this Council and

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make their contribution to national solidarity. This is the fervent prayer of the whole people, and it would moreover deal the enemy a mighty blow. Out of solicitude for the Communist Party and in the desire to see it play its full part in the history of this life-and-death struggle of our country, we beg it to continue in its mission of Reconstruction and Resistance against aggression.

Future Objectives of Spiritual Mobilization

An address broadcast on March 12, 1941, on the occasion of the second anniversary of the inauguration of the Spiritual Mobilization Movement.

MARCH 12, 1941.

THIS is the sixteenth anniversary of the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Republic, and also the second anniversary of the inauguration of the Spiritual Mobilization Movement. On this day that we commemorate the great revolutionary mentor we shall do well to recall his dying admonition that "the Revolution has not yet succeeded," reflecting that the invaders are still on our soil and the vast undertaking of Resistance and Reconstruction yet awaits completion at our hands. We must also more fully realize the sense of our slogans "the nation first, the people first" and "the army first, victory first." "Concentration of will and strength, the full expression of our people's great and unyielding tenacity of spirit," is an equally sure requirement if final victory is to be won. Today let us make a searching review of the work of the movement, thus preparing the way for renewed efforts.

During the three years and eight months of war gone by our fighting men and civilians alike have furnished a splendid demonstration of the Chinese people's revolutionary spirit. Since the issuance of the Spiritual Mobilization Program the whole country has manifested an elevated enthusiasm and firm resolution that marks a striking advance on the past. Especially notable have been the feats of people in the occupied areas struggling against the enemy's oppression and of the overseas Chinese communities in their loyal and patriotic contributions to the national cause. Our spirit has discomfited the Japanese and their traitor tools; and it has proved the solid foundation of the Chinese nation, the vast strength it is capable of developing. It is writing for humanity one of the most glorious pages in the history of victories gained by justice over brute force.

We cannot afford, however, by any means to be self-satisfied

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about the achievements of Spiritual Mobilization during the past two years. Last year on this day I suggested four lines of effort for the activities of the movement. Now I hope that all my listeners will closely examine themselves as to what degree the program of the movement has been translated into concrete fact. How much have we done to intensify economic war on the enemy? To what extent have we spread the movement for working competitions? Have we made as much as we planned of the Citizens' Monthly Meetings? Has there been complete fulfillment of the provisions of the Citizen's Pact? Today the success or failure of China's Resistance and Reconstruction involves the welfare of the whole world and with the nearer approach of victory we must further fortify our resolution to overcome whatever obstacles we encounter, making of the whole country one fighting unit. Everyone of us and especially those of us in positions of command and leadership must realize that the struggle has reached its final and decisive stage, and that in this stage the issue will be decided by the relative effectiveness of the action produced by the spiritual strength of our side and the enemy's. I, therefore, wish to make three points to which I hope you will give your attention.

One: Let us confirm one another in the faith we hold in common, assert our capacity for collective thought and feeling, and introduce a more disciplined order into our society. By disciplined I mean organized. Wartime mobilization of a nation's resources is organized action carried to the highest possible degree of efficiency; without a sound organization of society it is impossible to attain a full degree of wartime mobilization; without a faith held in common and a collective way of thinking there cannot be sound social organization and unanimity of action. The whole significance of our Spiritual Mobilization Movement lies in "bringing the spirit of the whole people to bear on the pursuit of a simple common aim, rallying the whole people to a single moral conception of sacrifice and struggle for a single faith." It was launched to bring about a better discipline and organization of society and to create a unified national mind free from outworn individualistic ideas of party and private gain and obeying the commands of the whole nation's will by giving up individual freedom for the sake of national freedom. All our private life and actions should be permeated by strict discipline to

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the exclusion of all slack and futile behavior. We must give our lives a consistent and regular form, treating life and death as one for the sake of the one cause. Everyone of us has his or her fighting function to fulfill; society is an army wherein every citizen is a soldier obliged implicitly to obey orders and unconditionally to conform to discipline. Where we stand today it is a matter of "victory or destruction"; and to gain that victory the whole country must show unswerving loyalty to the Three Principles of the People carrying out the Citizen's Pact to the letter. The demands of the Program of Spiritual Mobilization should penetrate all public bodies and social organizations, becoming an element in the general constitution of national life. In this way we can build tremendous spiritual fortifications upon the erection of which a truly organized and disciplined order of society will naturally follow.

Two: Let us cultivate a scientific spirit and develop scientific technique with a view to the completion of Dr. Sun's Industrial Plans. The present age is a scientific age and moreover the age of scientific and mechanized national defense. The central theme of all national reconstruction must be defense; the highest quality of scientific spirit and technique is required in all that pertains to material reconstruction. "Without science, there will be no national defense, and without that no nation." During the past forty-four months of armed resistance we have had full opportunity to realize the scientific character of modern warfare. Our sense of the power of science has been consequently deepened. In the past we opposed to the enemy forces merely our revolutionary spirit, but now to compass the complete victory of the future we must increasingly emphasize the scientific technique in building up a system of national defense that can permanently ensure the safety of the nation. We shall then have arrived at our goal of final victory. Our war preparations and fighting methods call for development along scientific lines, for mechanization and industrialization. This can be achieved on the one hand by means of the Government's comprehensive planning and on the other hand by way of enthusiastic efforts in the fields of invention, research and training put forth by experts and educators possessed of the requisite qualifications and special knowledge. Dr. Sun has laid down in his plans the design for a national economy devoted to production and the Principle of the People's Livelihood.

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Let us recall today his teaching embodied in the phrase "the omnipotence of a pair of hands," and his untiring promotion of science. Respect for science and the new spirit of devoted attachment to machinery should be inculcated as a part of education and training with the object of rendering our people familiar with the use and care of machines and aware of the national need of progress in the application of scientific and technical skill to the solution of modern economic problems. Spiritual Mobilization must include the awakening of the people to a fresh consciousness of the value of science and technical studies.

Three: Let us make music and physical culture play a greater part in stimulating the national spirit and modernizing national life. Music is a means of elevating citizens' minds to noble thought and emotion; physical culture is a means of steeling citizens' bodily constitution. Both are important conditions for the raising of the nation's standard of spiritual efficiency. "Neither rites nor music can be negelected" is an ancient teaching of our land. *Mens sana in corpore sano* is also a famous maxim of great wisdom. The essential intention underlying all of the five main points of the Program of Spiritual Mobilization consists in a thorough regeneration of the national spirit. Firstly, the aim is to enrich the ordinary citizen's life with a new fervor and courage equal to the task of dominating his environment and standing up to all his difficulties. Secondly, the aim is to effect a concentration of the national mind leading to an ordered solidarity and a united devotion to one ideal before which all ideas of personal and group advantage are swept away and the one issue of vital consequence is universally recognized. Thirdly, the aim is to revolutionize the national mind in such a way that every man renounces his selfish ends and is ready to make any sacrifice for the success of the Revolution.

To achieve these three aims the most essential work lies in the purgation of the people's emotions and the steeling of their physique. Community singing will serve to enliven our spirits and enrich our emotional life, to give us an upward-soaring and optimistic attitude of mind. Physical culture will serve to fortify our constitutions and give us the ability to endure fatigue and toil. The community singing and mass athletic demonstration held here today have been the distinguishing characteristic of this year's celebration of the anni-

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versary. I hope that hereafter there will be positive efforts all over the country to spread the custom of such athletic and musical exercises. There is no doubt that the result would be highly beneficial in the strengthening of the driving force behind Resistance and Reconstruction.

The "social discipline" of which I have spoken implies the development of a military cast of social life; by my emphasis on science in relation to national defense I meant the devotion of the national energies to production; what I said of the "modernization" of national life meant the aesthetic transformation of the face of national life. These three aspects of the government we shall do well to make the guiding lines of our future efforts. They are incidentally entirely concordant with the essentials of the New Life Movement which I founded seven years ago.

You must all bear in mind that the scope of all our efforts, striving and sacrifice is not limited to the overthrow of the barbarous Japanese invaders but includes all that will go to the making of a free and independent China. The foundation for victory is well laid; it is taking shape before our eyes. For this very reason the events of this year will be charged with unprecedented significance. We have to act up to the urgency of the time by rendering all our work reliable and realistic as we go forward to the completion of our revolutionary mission. Thus shall we prove ourselves worthy of those soldiers and others who have made great sacrifices for the cause and comfort the soul of the *Tsungli* in Heaven above. This movement, my fellow-countrymen, is a phenomenon of our national rebirth; it is not to be lightly regarded as something in the ordinary run of things. The nation demands of you unqualified loyalty and to do your full duty as patriots you must constantly draw strength from the virtues of propriety, justice, honesty and integrity that in you may be manifest the spirit of our national traditions.

The Kuomintang and National Leadership

An address delivered by Generalissimo Chiang on March 24, 1941, in his capacity as Tsungtsai (Director-General) of the Kuomintang at the opening of the Eighth Plenary Session of the Central Executive and Central Supervisory Committees of the Party.

MARCH 24, 1941.

THE eighth plenary session of this Committee is beginning today, eight months after the close of the seventh session. The period between the last session and the end of last year constituted a most perilous and difficult stage of our Party's revolutionary career. Looking back on the experience we can appreciate the fact that it was no easy matter to bring the Party and nation safely through the dangers of those six months.

All you comrades here today—and especially those who have traveled great distances in order to confer with fellow-members not seen for one or two years—must be conscious of great pleasure and elation at this opportunity for us to pool our abilities and energies in a common endeavor to achieve progress in party, political, economic and social work. I have frequently said that our Revolution fears no dangers or difficulties; that as long as the Party leads a united country towards a single goal there will be no dangers or difficulties we cannot overcome. Proof of this is to be found in the past history of the Party. Every time it has encountered danger and difficulty has been the occasion for progress and achievement proportionate to the danger or difficulty; it requires only effort now, as in the past, to reap success from the disaster that was imminent. The situation that existed eight or more months ago was gray and bleak in the extreme; yet today you and all your fellow-countrymen will be justified in taking the most optimistic of views of the fort of resistance as you observe the brighter and reassuring features of

the present military and diplomatic situation that indicate the crisis is already past.

The crisis is indeed largely over, but that does not mean that the future holds no perils or that we can permit ourselves the slightest carelessness or indolence. Before victory is ours we will meet much trouble and make many sacrifices. It is, therefore, all the more important that we should learn by the experience gained in passing through each period of crisis. In smooth waters today let us not forget the storms of yesterday. The responsibility of the present plenary session lies in taking stock of the lessons of the past and summoning up fresh resolution to face the future. We must turn what might have meant defeat into the means of victory.

Our duties at this session are, you must realize, peculiarly onerous. The very fact of the favorable turn in events that is bringing victory into ever clearer view should cause us to be impressed anew with the immensity of the enterprise upon which we are engaged. We should gather fresh impetus from reflection upon the momentous charge entrusted us. If in passing through this war, of dimensions unprecedented in history, that has cost so many soldiers and citizens their lives and property, that has entailed so much tragic suffering, we cannot complete the work of the Revolution and secure premanent freedom and independence, then we shall fail the memory of the Father of our Republic and those who have made sacrifices in the cause of resistance.

If we observe the present state of the Party we shall be at once aware of the criticism it has aroused from the public and of the faults and mistakes apparent to our own eyes. None can deny that there are comrades who are merely perfunctory in the execution of their duties and who lose sight of the difficulties and dangers facing the nation. The responsibility of this plenary session of the Committee being to bring to fruition the legacy of the past and to initiate the undertakings of the future, we must first and foremost make a thorough review of our past failings and errors, asking ourselves why there is such general suspicion of us, how it is we have exposed ourselves to dissenting and sarcastic censure. From the personnel of Party Headquarters down to the least of individual party members we must all exercise the greatest possible sincerity in scrutinizing our record, and proceed to turn over a new leaf.

Then there will be hope for the future of the Revolution and the success of Resistance and Reconstruction, which have now reached a stage of supreme importance. Not only does the nation demand and expect this of us: the welfare of the world is also involved. A searching analysis of immediate party, political, military, economic and social problems is necessary, together with the determination of future policy in both internal and foreign affairs.

Speaking of military affairs, in three years and eight months of hard struggle our armies have displayed a spirit and strength that are the inspiration of the Chinese people and have won the admiration of the world. Even the Japanese themselves have been forced to admit that the conquest of China by force of arms is an impossibility. We may, therefore, say that the military crisis has passed by and a considerable measure of success has been achieved. We must take account, however, of the factors that have contributed to that success—the power of our spirit and principles, the revolutionary forms of military policy and strategy that have enabled us to survive so many grave crises and smash the Japanese design to annex China by force. If, however, our troops are to attain in the future an efficiency comparable to that of the fighting services of the great Powers and our defenses to be really adequate for the protection of the country, our Party must exert itself many times more effectively than it has in the past. Though there is room for optimism concerning the military position this is no time to rest on our oars or to be satisfied with our present ability to hold the enemy at arm's length.

Another point to which I wish to call your closest attention is the fact that the victory of resistance cannot be won on the field of battle alone; there is also the issue of our economic warfare with the enemy to be considered. Such is the nature of modern warfare that one may safely say victory will be determined seventy per cent by economic factors and only thirty per cent by purely military ones. It is imperative that all of you should grasp this point and accordingly approach the economic problems of the future with the same attitude and energy with which three years ago you approached military problems. For now the issue of the war very largely depends on the way we handle those economic problems, upon our capacity for protracted economic resistance and the removal of the remaining

obstacles of this period of resistance. Those of you whose duty it is to give the people leadership, whether as civilians or army men, at the front or in the rear, must treat the economic aspect of the war as no less important than the military. The range of economic weapons is greater and they are more easily brought to bear than the military. If we can but free ourselves from the superficial and *laissez-faire* habits of the past and display a positive spirit of endeavor we shall certainly find in the rich economic resources of our country the wherewithal to break down the obstructions in our course. On the contrary, if those habits prevail the finest possible objective conditions will not serve to ward off a failure the gravity of which must far exceed that of any military reverse.

There are now sections of public opinion that entertain excessive anxiety over certain economic problems of the day. According to my own observation there is really no ground for such anxiety save in the question whether we can henceforth devote ourselves austere, energetically and positively to reconstruction. There are people who are criticizing and ridiculing the Party for what they call its slackness and there are some who even say that we are corrupt and declining. We must give due consideration to all such criticism and set out to mend our ways and deserve better of the country. In all our enterprises we must draw on our revolutionary spirit in the study of new methods, seeking the continual breaking of fresh ground. This session is being held just when the work of reconstruction is beginning. We must lead the nation in pioneering the path it is to follow. If we fail to rouse our fellow-citizens to strive in the tasks of reconstruction the sacrifices and efforts of the past three and more years will all have been in vain.

Let us, however, observe the record of the past forty-four months and we shall see that, especially during the last six months or so, there has been a steady falling off of our spirit of endeavor in both Party and Government, among both central and local authorities. There has been a lack of new spirit and fresh strength in all fields. This, I believe, represents an acute danger. The thought should strike woe into our hearts. How is it, we should ask ourselves, that at the beginning of the war when we fully realized we were a weak country opposing a strong invader we were full of high resolve, while now with resistance at its present momentous stage and victory

at hand we have grown lax and negligent? The responsibility is not to be laid at the door of the Government, still less to be attributed to the masses of the people; nor are circumstances to be blamed. The whole responsibility rests with this Party, charged as it is with the task of national leadership, and in particular with you Central Committee members. "The Revolution is not yet complete" are words that should be ever ringing in our ears. There can be no excuse for complacency at a time so crucial as this. If the one hundred and fifty or more comrades present can bestir themselves to recapture the noble impulses and austere integrity manifested in your ranks until recently, the whole country will respond to our spiritual appeal and advance courageously along the rough road of new achievement. Neglect, on the other hand, even in matters of detail, will result in the enervation of the whole nation's spirit with consequent unimaginable peril to its future. My hope is that you will all take action to meet this inward menace and revitalize the quality of the leadership you give your subordinates and the nation, thus causing a renewal of their faith in the Party and the Government. Nothing less will meet the people's expectations of us and justify the sympathy of other countries for our cause.

The course of the Revolution depends upon our conduct of Party and political affairs. The fundamental problem is how we can create a new political atmosphere and infuse a new spirit into Party life. The first step to finality in reconstruction is reform of administrative procedure, but introductory to that is the attainment of a sound Party life. It is, therefore, in respect to Party affairs that I wish to make certain simple emphatic remarks on this occasion. It is essential that both central and local Party representatives should have a lucid conception of the general situation at home and abroad. They should realize that the Kuomintang as the ruling Party of China is dissimilar to dominant parties in other countries such as the National Socialist Party in Germany, the Fascist Party in Italy and the Communist Party in Russia. We are still in the revolutionary period of our modern history. Every member of the Party must play a practical part in the struggle to actualize the Three Principles of the People by working up from the bottommost strata of political organization and putting his heart into social undertakings. Let no one worry about the stability of our regime;

let our concern be to see that the Party does not drift away from society with the result that our political dispositions lack any deep foundation in the national life and consciousness. The Party members in general, and you Committee members in particular, exist to serve the ends of the Revolution, not to carve out fine official careers and exercise personal power for individual ends. We must be ever attentive to the voice of the people and keep in mind the sufferings of the fighting men so that we are ready to exhaust our strength in the service of society and fuse our existence with that of the masses. If everyone of us can bring his influence to bear at the base of the political and social structure and maintain close contact with the people, we shall be treading the truest road of revolutionary service. But while the Party is without a firm foothold in popular life and the roots of its faith not yet thrust deep into the soil, the misconception will continue to prevail that as Party members we are a sort of privileged autocrats—a vast mistake indeed! We must ever be reminding ourselves that the Revolution is yet short of success, the Principles have yet to be put into practice, the nation's honor has yet to be vindicated, and our duty is yet unfulfilled. The responsibility for stirring the hearts of our people rests upon our shoulders. On us also entirely depends the vital work of building a sound social basis for the Party.

The *Tsungli* has bequeathed us his comprehensive design for the progressive development of the Revolution. Every concrete act of social service performed by Party members will add something to the strength of the Party's social foundation, which will be rendered the more stable the deeper we penetrate into the daily life of the masses. At this session all of you engaged in activities related to local autonomy and social service must form a steadfast resolve to see the organization and discipline of the Party and its spirit enriched and elevated, to institute a new era in the working out of revolutionary reconstruction. What I have said consists of only a few simple observations, yet in them lies the key to the success of the Revolution. It is my hope that all present here today will bend every resource of mind and will to the accomplishment of the mission of this assembly to fulfill the promise of the past and usher in an age of better things.

Bonds Between China and America

An address given at the farewell dinner to Ambassador Nelson T. Johnson on May 10, 1941.

MAY 10, 1941.

AFTER thirty-three years in China Ambassador Johnson is about to leave the country to take up a fresh post. For the valued guest and his hosts alike this time of parting is fraught with many and varied thoughts and feelings. Mr. Johnson has been American diplomatic representative in China for more than ten years, since, in fact, the National Government was set up in Nanking. His relationship with the Chinese Government has been peculiarly intimate, his acquaintance with the Chinese people far-reaching and profound. My revolutionary colleagues and I deeply regret that so good a friend is leaving us. I propose this evening to make the traditional friendship between the Chinese and American nations and the responsibilities that today and in the future must be discharged in common by the two great peoples who dwell on the eastern and western shores of the Pacific Ocean the theme of these words of farewell.

China and the United States have common interests in the Pacific Ocean. More cogent still is the consideration of their responsibility for the maintenance of an order of peace and justice in the Pacific and the characteristic attachment to upright and peaceful conduct that they have both made the spirit of their nationalism. In America that spirit is expressed in the principle of government of the people, by the people, for the people. In China it consists of the Three Principles enunciated by Dr. Sun of nationalism, democracy and livelihood that demand China's independence, equality and freedom among the nations of the world. As Dr. Sun explained, independence means the people in possession, equality the people as sovereign, and freedom the people satisfied, or in other words government of the people, by the people, for the people. In short, in both countries political principles turn upon the will and the interests of the people. The Three Principles of the People

are really one with the democratic principles of America. Because both China and the United States are devoted to this democratic spirit of independence, freedom and equality they have never for all their vast area, resources and population given thought to any attack on others, but have rather presented positive opposition to aggression. In the Eastern and Western hemispheres they have become two pillars supporting the peace and well-being of humanity and a unique foundation whereon may be built the universal brotherhood that was Dr. Sun's highest ideal. Such is the spirit of the two nations and such their responsibility. It is the great mission they are striving together to fulfill.

Peaceful order in the Pacific has been utterly shattered by the Japanese militarists. At a time when her armed preparedness was inadequate China became the object of their aggression, but she has sworn to persevere indefinitely in her endeavor to answer their challenge to peace and justice. The government and citizens of the United States have from the beginning made clear their deep sympathy with our cause. In the face of this unbridled aggression the historical and geographical relationship of the two countries, the international agreements to which they have both subscribed, and their common interests and responsibilities, all make a blow struck at one also an injury to the other. Neither can conceivably be an indifferent spectator of the other's distress. That is a matter of plain and indubitable fact. There is no occasion to have recourse to any remote historical proof of this. As recently as the 30th of last month an official mouthpiece of the Japanese Foreign Office, the *Japan Times and Advertiser*, came out with a "World Peace Plan." We need not concern ourselves with what this had to say of the European and African continents; let us merely note its references to the Pacific and the United States and we shall observe that Japan's aggression in China is but a preliminary to attack on America. The first point of the "Plan" calls for the demilitarization of British and American naval bases in the Pacific. The second is that the United States shall not seek hegemony on the American Continent. The third demands that American influence shall not extend further west than the Hawaiian Islands. The fourth suggests that all Pacific islands shall be incorporated in the Japanese sphere of co-prosperity. These four points

are sufficient to show that Japan, with China still an unsettled issue, is already busying herself with American territory and rights in the Pacific and planning to achieve a complete nullification of American power. While this Japanese dream-talk is beneath the contempt of any intelligent person, Japan having grown steadily weaker in her years of inconclusive war with China, it is the expression of a firmly established policy and traditional scheme of aggression. Could the Japanese militarists manage in some way to dispose of their China problem, they would certainly proceed to attack America. If we imagine the eventuality of a Chinese defeat, we see in this Japanese paper's "Plan" the way in which Japan would then set about dealing with America.

We are, therefore, justified in holding that victory or defeat for Chinese resistance will be also an American victory or defeat, and a victory or defeat for every nation in the Pacific. A Chinese defeat would result in the expulsion of British and American armed forces from that ocean and of Soviet arms from Vladivostok and Siberia. The "World Peace Plan" resembles the Konoye Statement on a "New Order for East Asia" issued on November 3, 1938. As that was addressed to China, the present "Plan" might be called a "New Order for the Pacific" addressed to America. The proposal to bring all Pacific islands within Japan's "sphere of co-prosperity" simply means that all American territory in the Pacific should be brought under Japanese control. The aggressive policy of Japan is revealed in its every feature and each practical measure she undertakes corresponds to some specific part of that policy. The Japanese official organ also mentions in this "Plan" the banishment of Soviet Russian influence from the Pacific; Siberia and Vladivostok are to come under Japanese control. Britain, fully occupied as she is with the European war, is of course the object of more measureless exactions. Australia, New Zealand, Malaya, Burma, India and all her Far Eastern territories and rights are to be stripped from her. Such being the character of the Japanese scheme of aggression, it is clearly imperative that all friendly nations should thoroughly comprehend and squarely face this menace.

Nearly four years of Chinese resistance, however, have so exhausted Japan that at present she is powerless to move further toward the attainment of the fantastic goal of aggrandizement I have

just described. She is therefore resorting more and more to bluff and all manner of devious devices to procure disunity among the peoples of the Pacific. By threats and blandishments she is seeking to gain her ends by disintegrating the ranks of her desired victims to facilitate a process of gradual absorption. Every nation concerned should be on its guard against this insidious design.

If all nations friendly to us will, in the name of justice, live up to what is expected of them in supporting Chinese resistance by supplying us with war material and economic aid, China is prepared to undertake singlehanded the task of putting down this enemy of all who would dwell in peace on the shores of the Pacific. Expeditionary forces or naval action is not asked of them. This claim is no mere verbal boast; it is the resolve and the faith of the whole Chinese army and people. It rests moreover on the solid showing of four years' fighting. At the same time the support we need forms, whether we think of the interests common to China and America or of the status the two nations have to maintain in the Pacific, an inalienable responsibility for those who are in a position to give it.

Chinese observers of the world situation as it has developed during the last eighteen months of the European conflict see among the dozen or more shipwrecked and ruined nations of the West the imposing and solitary survival of Britain. They compare the spectacle to that of China's stand in the East. The two countries share a unique record of inflexible determination to defend themselves and their independence. They both have interests in common with America and their fortunes are bound up in such a manner that the distinction of East and West has virtually disappeared. The world war of today has become a simple struggle between equity and force, between liberty and evil. Our confidence in victory for resistance comes of the principles of national independence, liberty and sovereignty for which we are fighting and the ideal ground of human welfare, right-dealing and peace in which our faith is rooted. This confidence in our own cause leads us to believe that America also is bound to stand forth as a protector of the same ideals. The greatest respect has been engendered in the hearts of the Chinese army and people by the present policy of the American Government, by the firm and upright attitude and its courageous determination. The mind of the American people is becoming more and more clearly

made up to check aggression: their resolve to defend the spirit of democracy against the forces of tyranny is now such that they will support the policy of their government to the point of war. One need not hesitate to assert that America has thus brought perceptibly nearer the day when the world will again enjoy peace. That she is a decisive force working for peace in the Pacific is still more obvious. Japanese aggression has now neither the strength nor the audacity to risk a clash with this American buttress of peace. I am prepared to express the conviction that any country in the world matching itself against American democracy would meet with certain destruction. The inconsiderable caliber of Japan would make nonsense of an attempt on her part to grapple with the United States.

The unequivocal assurance which I can today give Ambassador Johnson is this: the Chinese army and people regard the situation in the Pacific created by the preparations underway in various countries, by the present policy of the American Government, and by what we have ourselves achieved in four years of war, as affording full grounds for confidence that Japan can be overthrown without any direct naval action on the part of any nation or nations committed to the support of our cause. We believe our ultimate victory can be secured on the mainland of Eastern Asia alone provided the American people second their government's policy without reserve and bring their full weight to bear in support of Chinese resistance. If, on the other hand, the nations of the Pacific are careless of their responsibilities, each waiting for others to move first, exhibiting afresh the *laissez-faire* and slothful conduct of the past, ignoring Japanese designs and ambitions and failing positively to assist Chinese resistance—then a great war involving the whole Pacific area will ensue with consequences that do not bear thinking about.

Mr. Johnson has had more than thirty years' experience of life in China and he is a loyal friend of China. Following the establishment of the National Government in Nanking one of the first issues it took up was that of the annulment of the unequal treaties whereby our Customs administration was lodged in foreign hands. At that time America lent the force of her example to this end by first concluding with us a treaty providing for our autonomy in Customs administration. We remember Mr. Johnson's efforts during the time of his ambassadorship to bring about cooperation between

China and America—efforts that laid the foundation for the present development of that cooperation. At some future time when China and America again play their part in a peaceful order of Pacific affairs Ambassador Johnson's contribution to the traditional friendship of China with America will be recalled with a due sense of the value of his services. He will undoubtedly convey to his people on his return home, previous to assuming his new post, the fervent expectations entertained of them by the whole Chinese army and people. He will thus add still more to the close and friendly relations existing between the two countries. That responsibility remains with him and we are convinced of his will and ability to fulfill it. At this moment of separation I have only to add an expression of my best wishes for the prosperity of American and Chinese national fortunes, for the health of President Roosevelt and of the departing Ambassador.

A Balanced Development in National Finances

An address delivered at the Third National Financial Conference in Chungking, June 16, 1941.

JUNE 16, 1941.

TODAY we are present at the opening ceremony of the Third National Financial and Pacification Conferences. You have just heard the President describe the great significance and weighty responsibilities of these conferences and you will certainly be fully aware of the importance of your duties here. I have a few words to add to the President's remarks and some views to which I wish to call your attention.

The Financial and the Pacification Conferences have much in common and the work of each has considerable bearing on that of the other. Both are concerned with the harmonization of military and political affairs in the rear and the strengthening of the foundation of Resistance and Reconstruction. I desire to bring up today certain fundamental issues and it is my hope that those of you delegated to the Pacification Conference will also be attentive to what I have to say and active in lending your assistance.

Since the Central Government was established there have been two financial conferences, the first of which achieved the abolition of the "likin,"* while the second dealt with other local oppressive and multifarious taxes. These two undertakings removed immense obstacles from the path of national economy: the people's livelihood was enabled to develop freely; a great reform profoundly affecting national reconstruction was achieved. The good fruit of those two conferences, however, was of a negative character, consisting in the "removal of abuses." The nature of our duties at this Third Financial Conference differs; it is the work of positive reconstruction, the putting of national finance and economy on a thoroughly firm foun-

*A tax on goods in transit first levied in the imperial days and abolished by the Government in 1931.

dation. We have to devise comprehensive planning of national finance and its rational control. We have to remove from national economy and provincial reconstruction in general the irregularities of the past which permitted of excessive wealth in one place and excessive poverty in another. The aim is to reduce all to uniformity and set in motion a balanced development. The Government has therefore set itself two immediate objectives: (1) the balancing of the national budget and (2) the equalization of the burden of taxation on the shoulders of the people. These are fundamental features of the Government's policy in Resistance and Reconstruction. All of you must accordingly keep clear in your minds the way in which this conference differs from others called in normal times. It is distinguished not only by its determination to apply the policy of nationalizing land taxes and to set up a national fiscal system, important as these two undertakings are, but also by the whole spirit and fundamental quality its deliberations must display and which will relate them to the future of the people's livelihood and national reconstruction.

Looking back over the time that has elapsed since the National Government was established, we see the great difficulties and perils through which Chinese finance has passed and yet now after almost four years of war it is not merely sound but growing more and more robust. This spectacle should reassure us of the vast potential economic strength of our people. It proves on the other hand the worth and accuracy of the policy the Government has been pursuing. You must not fail to realize that this precious and hard-won gain as well as the achievements of prolonged resistance we owe in large measure to the success of the monetary policy, which in turn may be defined as the success of Dr. Sun's "monetary revolution." When I came to Szechwan on a tour of inspection in 1935 I was appalled at the chaos of local currencies to be observed. It led me to a consideration of the distress and squalor for which this chaos was largely responsible, and thence to the thought that should war come economic catastrophe must result. Unity of currency was imperative; only by making one monetary writ run the land could the people be released from the exploitation to which they were subject and in war time from the effects of the chaotic currency and finance. At that time, therefore, as soon as I had arrived in the province I de-

cided that it must accept the same currency as the rest of the country. The policy of unified national currency had been in operation since 1921, but it was generally viewed with misgivings and doubts of its practicability. What no financier had dared attempt before our financial authorities then set indefatigably about doing in accordance with the principles of Dr. Sun's monetary revolution. And at last they fully succeeded with the result that resistance had been able to attain all it has. When this policy was in its beginnings there was apprehension among financiers, monetary experts and commercial bankers that it would be sure to damage their interests. All sorts of rumors were heard, and great opposition manifested. Public confidence was shaken. And yet when the policy had been translated into fact it was discovered that so far from doing the bankers and dealers in exchange any harm, business was intensely stimulated and commerce expanded. Public and private enterprise alike was so benefitted that the country seemed to have derived a new lease of economic life from the unification of the currency. We are close to victory now, but the difficulties that yet remain to be overcome require our attacking them with penetrating vigor. Let us recall the obstacles we have already surmounted and the unification of currency achieved in 1935 that for centuries had been impossible. Bad conventions of long standing were successfully broken down; one money flowed through the financial and commercial veins of the country. Confronted by such a scabrous and tangled problem we were yet able to solve it to complete satisfaction. How then can there be any further problem so arduous as to daunt us?

We must bear in mind that this progress has been a general advance of the standard of national intelligence and of financiers' and businessmen's breadth of vision, of their sense of justice and support for the Government's policy. From our experience in the matter of unified currency we can form the axiom that "everything making for the good of the people is necessarily to the good of the individual." The Government is bound, therefore, whatever may be the difficulties encountered, to pursue to its logical conclusion any policy conducive to the advantage and happiness of the country and the people. Any such policy is likewise bound to succeed.

If we are to set up a sound basis for financial reconstruction, all revenue from taxation of the land must accrue to the State. A

sharp distinction must be drawn between the national fiscal system and the locally autonomous ones. Thereafter the State may be modernized. With regard to land taxation, I shall speak later. With regard to fiscal systems, if a clear line of demarcation can be drawn between them there will be an assured source of finance for the public enterprises of local autonomous units, and the way will be smoothed for the full application of the new system of *hsien* administration to the destruction of the old conformity in name but not in substance. At the same time when a national fiscal system is inaugurated not only will the Central Government's financial position be strengthened but provincial enterprises, especially those connected with economic defense, will be able to make real progress. There will be an elimination of the unstable and unsound conditions of the past that rendered remote and sparsely populated districts incapable of contributing anything to the forces of reconstruction. These two measures are therefore essential to the whole livelihood of the people. They will have effects beyond the scope of finance; you and all central and provincial officials must realize those effects will extend to the questions most closely touching the lives of workers, farmers, students and all other members of society.

Resistance and Reconstruction are essentially one and the same thing. We are fighting the war for the sake of reconstruction and it may be equally well said that we are reconstructing for the sake of resistance. When the war first began we laid the groundwork of reconstruction, and while it has been proceeding we have done our best to continue the work. Three concrete lines of policy were resolved upon: (1) The application of the new system of *hsien* administration and the advancement of the local autonomy. If the new system of *hsien* administration can be applied as its plans and objectives dictate and local autonomy made genuinely effective the State will be provided with a firm political foundation, and the whole work of national reconstruction will be brought to success. (2) Balancing of the national budget and the equitable distribution of tax burden. To achieve the former end the Government has simply to keep strictly within the limits of its budgets and final fiscal statements and to do its utmost in developing sources of revenue and restricting public expenditure. The latter duty is of immense importance: in this time of war we cannot tolerate refusal of the

wealthy to make their contribution to the cause while the indigent masses are obliged to support the finances of the State. This thoroughly unfair state of things must be radically reformed and to bring about the desired equalization of tax burdens taxation must be regularized according to a comprehensive plan put into universal execution by the Government. (3) The application of Dr. Sun's land and food policies. In the teachings bequeathed us by Dr. Sun there are defined three essential courses of action in regard to financial and economic policy during the revolutionary period: (i) For the fulfillment of the Principle of People's Livelihood there must be a "monetary revolution," or unification of the currency system. (ii) In both peace and war time there must be "food control" with a special bureau in charge of this. A country without food control will be without assured supplies of food for people and army, and will never attain the status of a modern nation and will lose its independent existence. (iii) Equitable disposition of land ownership, and the implementation of land policy. The land policy must be thoroughly applied in order that the Three Principles of the People may be fully realized. These three revolutionary tasks the *Tsungli* expounded in a way that leaves me no necessity of going into details here. Since 1935 when the present national currency came into use the first of these tasks—the monetary revolution—has been in the main completed with success. The other two tasks, the control of food and the equitable distribution of land ownership, are focal ones for both peace and wartime finance and economy and demand our strongest efforts. If we cannot now carry them into effect, there will never be a second chance. Moreover all should know that if the land policy is not put into effect and food not controlled, our people's livelihood will decline from bad to worse and eventually to ruin. No matter what hardships we may have to suffer, we must realize these are tasks calling for the utmost striving on the part of the nation, society and the individual, in the same spirit as that displayed in the process of unifying the national currency, until we can truly say: "My neighbor's interests are mine and mine his; the home and the nation exist for each other's good." Then the leaders of the nation will worthily bear the name of leaders of a nation equal in stature to the urgency of the hour. Otherwise our national economy and political system will be perpetually condemned to remain that of a semi-colony and

our descendants will never raise their heads again. Perhaps land and food are the most important of the matters before the Conference. Success with regard to them will be a proof of China's capacity to become a truly independent and free nation. I trust you will exert yourselves to the utmost over them.

Next, in regard to land taxation I have some points to make. From ancient times China's State revenue has been derived from land taxation. So it was with the Republican government until the establishment of the present Central Government when it was decided to allot revenue from the land to the provincial authorities—a decision that in retrospect gives rise to much regret. The essentials of a State, after sovereignty, are land and people. And these two elements are bound up with each other, just as the people cannot leave the land, for it depends on them for tillage. If land taxes are allotted to the local governments, this virtually separates the people and the land from the State; it leaves them with only a local consciousness, without a national one. In order to make citizens understand that the reason for their payment of land taxes lies in the welfare of the nation as a whole and that the rights of citizenship belong to them by virtue of the contribution they make to the maintenance of the State, the revenue from land taxation must go to the Central Government. This is essential for the development of the people's sense of nationhood and constitutes a fundamental principle of policy. Two other great sources of State revenue in the past were the customs and the salt tax, which have, with the exception of a small portion still obtainable from the interior, passed out of the control of the central authorities since the enemy attacked the coast where the lack of naval power made inevitable this loss. But China is an agricultural country. The national finances should in both peace and war time rest upon agricultural sources of revenue. During this war national finance has made, as it were, two discoveries—of the land and of food—and they have become its strong supports. The depth and wisdom of Dr. Sun's teaching has been fully revealed and vindicated. I have already said that this Conference must be one devoted to positive reconstruction. You must devise concrete methods of improving the food situation and the administration of the land. A point I desire to impress upon you with especial emphasis is that this move of appropriating the land tax to the Central Government

is taken with a view to the good of the whole fabric of national economy and for the security of the people's livelihood. The aim is not merely to increase the Government's income. For during these four years of war, had China been financially circumstanced as most countries at war are, she would have already been bankrupt. In fact, Chinese finance through the efforts of our financial authorities and your exertions, and with the assistance of friendly nations has been maintained and it never stood on a firmer basis than it does today. That being so, the future may be faced with confidence. In your work here you must treat these two undertakings of change in the system of land taxation and the strengthening of the fiscal system as essential features of future policy involving the success of national reconstruction in its entirety rather than as mere financial expedients.

With regard to the food problem I have some suggestions to make. Local feeling on the issues is diverse, but there is universal agreement upon the gravity and urgency of the question. Everyone's attention is fixed upon the question how food supplies are to be collected, and what standard is to be followed in collecting them, but there is a lack of clear conception as to the central essence of the matter. I hold that it is a question of how we are to put into practice the *Tsungli's* teachings on the methods of food control in a rational and profitable way. All comrades must understand that the success or failure of Resistance and Reconstruction is deeply concerned in this as well as the well-being and very existence of the people. All social problems depend for their solution upon the solution of this food problem. Those who possess land and food will not be able indefinitely to go on eating with indifference to those others who have nothing to eat. It is for those who possess to give whether at the front or in the rear, but especially rich landowners in the rear who depend upon the protection of the armies of resistance and of the Government's administration of the law for the freedom in which they live and freely express their views. What freedom of expression have people in the Northeastern Provinces, in Hopei, Shantung, Suiyuan, and Shansi? There they restrict the supply of food absolutely necessary to your sustenance and they confiscate your own food. Perhaps our wealthy proprietors in the rear have not thought of these sufferings. Should we be defeated the people both in the war areas and the rear will lose all security of existence, be robbed

of all their possessions and fall into the same state of slavery as the inhabitants of the Northeastern Provinces. We must realize that the present security of our lives and property comes entirely from the Government and revolutionary armies and if you will not obey government orders and support the Government's policy, you are pulling down the very fences that stand between you and the arbitrary ruthlessness of the enemy and the puppets. You and your descendants will be enslaved forever.

The Government is preoccupied with its strenuous efforts to win the war, but it desires in the interests of the whole people and of those of our fellow-countrymen who are suffering affliction and poverty to avail itself of public opinion and it wishes wealthy landowners to understand that in levying a quota of ten or twenty per cent on their stocks of food it is doing this not to damage their interests but to afford them protection. If they balk at this contribution and display indifference to the hunger of the people and army, and the defeat of resistance they will find their food confiscated in entirety by the enemy. They must fully comprehend this point and then they will understand the Government's present policy and how it is directed to the protection of the interests of the ordinary man and landowner alike.

If however those holding stocks of provisions think only of their own selfish gain and ignore the demands of patriotism, disregarding the Government's food regulations, the Government will be obliged to take strong action against them whether they hoard, speculate or indulge in any other illegal proceedings. It will act fearlessly of any evil forces arrayed in its path. I have long resolved upon a final solution of this food problem; I shall not be hindered by any further uncertainties. The Northwest and Southwest are agricultural areas fully capable of producing all the food required; there is no fear of our being unable to obtain the quota exacted. The Government hopes and expects, however, that local landowners will spontaneously do their best to fulfill the provisions of the mandates issued, that they will all act as duty and the high interests of the nation dictate. The Government has resolved upon this food policy with unmingled concern for the public good. It will bring it into operation without fail when the autumn harvest comes round; there can be no delay until next year. The maxims set for the citizen's patriotic

duty in the past were "those with money, give money" and "those with strength, give strength." To these we must now add "those with food, give food." If landowners selfishly fail to give the food demanded of them they will be acting criminally. They will put themselves in the same class with oppressive landlords and corrupt officials. The Government will show no clemency towards them.

With regard to the control and management of food, the course adopted may be the issuance of "food treasury notes," a subject upon which there is also a great division of opinion. Some landholders lacking patriotic vision will insist upon equating these notes to national currency. At this time of national crisis it is utterly distressing that there should be people capable of minutely calculating their own gain rather than thinking of the country's good and the giving of an example to society. Whether we issue such notes or collect taxes in kind the object is to obtain a specific amount of food for the purpose of adjusting the supply of food for people and army. In the future the Government will redeem the notes, which will constitute what may be called a "compulsory loan." They will not, however, legitimately be reckoned functionally equivalent to national currency.

At this time, if we are to call ourselves worthy citizens of an independent country we must respond with implicit obedience to the Government's commands. In the execution of both its food and land policies the Government is out to put army and victory first and take measures of the fairest and soundest kind; the duty of all citizens is magnanimously to obey the letter and the spirit of these measures. To methods of food control the Government has given its especially close and earnest attention. Its demands of the land-owners and food-dealers in the rear are lenient, and when we compare the food control measures of other countries at war with ours, the latter appear kindly and tolerant in the extreme. It is to be hoped that fellow-countrymen generally will take account of the Government's solicitude and carry out all government orders with punctilious loyalty, with the ultimate object of bringing to fulfillment the Three Principles of the People.

The Central Government is now engaged on the one hand in leading the revolutionary forces of the nation in resistance at the front to drive out the invaders, and on the other hand in directing

the efforts of the masses of the people in the rear in the work of reconstruction for the establishment of a firm foundation for a new *San Min Chu I* nation. It is therefore not to be deterred by any sacrifices or obstacles. My hope is that the whole country will act with a full sense of this truth and everyone will urge obedience in a spirit of revolutionary and patriotic zeal to the Government's provisions, eliminating all evasion and connivance at evasion. Henceforth if there can be a thorough solution of agrarian and food problems, other wartime military, political, financial, economic and social questions will be readily solved. The ancients said: "Enough food and enough soldiers" were the two essentials upon which equal emphasis should be placed. In our present War of Resistance, to have "enough soldiers" will not suffice if we have not also "enough food." So it is that we have created this maxim, "Those with food must give food." Supplies of food for the army alone will not do if those of the people are inadequate. The work of farmers, industrial workers, merchants and students should be thought of as identical to that of soldiers. The sustenance of the whole people must necessarily engage the attention of the Government as closely as that of the army. All citizens with common knowledge of modern conditions will be aware of this. In regard to the solution of the present food problems everyone is most concerned with the security of the people's food supply, because arrangements to feed the army had long already been made. In fact there is really no reason to separate military and public supplies. To allow uncontrolled business dealings in food in these days is quite incompatible with modern ideas.

The above observations regarding the appropriation of land taxation by the Central Government, the establishment of a national fiscal system, and the institution of measures of food control are all fundamental issues in Resistance and Reconstruction and policies essential to the fulfillment of the Three Principles of the People. I look to all of you here today to follow out the points I have made in your close study of the situation and take effective action. Moreover all responsible men in Party, Government, army and other positions must diligently and courageously devote themselves to the completion of the great task of Resistance and Reconstruction that we may worthily fulfill our revolutionary mission.

Stronger Co-operation of Democracies Against Aggression

A message to friendly nations on the fourth anniversary of the war, July 7, 1941.

JULY 7, 1941.

OUR War of Resistance has now reached the fourth anniversary of its outbreak. Then we realized that if Japanese aggression went unchecked it would threaten more than the existence of China; it would prove calamitous for the whole world. We rose up accordingly with fearless resolution to wrestle with this formidable enemy. We thought it no time to count the cost. These four years' of war have seen Japanese military strength immensely reduced and the full enormity of Japanese ambitions made clear to the world.

From the very beginning we were prepared to fight alone to the end. We were, and are, confident that China is strong enough to master Japan; but if countries friendly to our cause will but assist us to the best of their ability in our military and economic necessities, the progress of our armies will be accelerated and the world be the sooner rid of one of the greatest dangers to its welfare. The Chinese people are supremely aware of the cruelties of warfare and they are second to none in their reluctance to see any nation undergo the sufferings that war entails. The Chinese Army and people will consider their sacrifices adequately rewarded if the cause of justice triumphs and humanity is spared, at least from one quarter, the terrible experiences we have had to endure. I have frequently made this statement and the truth of it is evident to all observers from countries friendly to China.

During the past twelve months violent changes have taken place in both the Far Eastern and world situations. The last few weeks have been particularly crowded with developments following one another in rapid succession. The manner in which the Axis Powers have emulated and seconded the lead of Japan has resulted in the division of the world into two great domains, that on the one

hand of the bloc of nations the instrument of whose policy is aggression, and that, on the other hand of a bloc of nations resolved to oppose aggression. As things stand today, the war in the Far East is no longer to be viewed as merely a conflict between two nations, for the European and Asiatic wars have now become closely interrelated. Scarcely a single country remains unaffected because this predatory group of Powers excludes no country from the scope of its design to dominate the world by force. So much has become quite clear. A mighty conflagration is sweeping the world, and after the nature of fire it will continue to burn up all in its path until and unless it is extinguished. To control this ghastly evil the only course is to strike down the foe while there is yet time. As to how this is effectively to be done I have three points to make.

Firstly, every fire has a starting point and the historical source of this present worldwide war was undoubtedly Japan's attack on our Northeastern Provinces launched in total disregard of all treaty obligations. By that act of aggression a decade ago Japan displayed the course upon which she was bent. Later in 1936 she lent fresh impetus to the forces of aggression with the Anti-Comintern Pact she was then foremost in promoting. She was obviously resolved to see the world plunged into chaos. Within the past year she has entered into a tripartite alliance with Germany and Italy and subsequently announced her conception of an "Order for Greater East Asia" under her hegemony, formally declaring the term to embrace Oceania. As steps to the expansion of her power southward she has established naval bases on Hainan Island and in Indo-China. Japan has thus been outstandingly instrumental in magnifying the scale of the war, in feeding the flames she was the first to light. She is to be regarded as more than the villainous originator of the Far Eastern War; she is responsible for the universal character of the strife we now see spreading over the earth. Until this primal spring of evil is stopped up there can be no hope of permanent peace for mankind at large.

Secondly, the issue of the conflict will depend upon the efficiency with which the forces working against aggression can make themselves felt. Asia is the center of the globe's greatest masses of population and of its richest resources. If therefore the democracies of Asia, America and Europe can truly concentrate their energies in

the pursuit of their common endeavor against the aggressors their co-operation can ensure victory and the destruction of the Powers devoted to the rule of force. Let the nations concerned with the various territories that compose the Pacific land areas make a revolutionary change in their attitude, and view the importance of the Pacific with fresh insight. Then they will realize that the ocean and the continent of Asia weigh at least in equal importance with the Atlantic and Europe and the urgency of the task of crushing the power of Japan will appear to them proportional to the gravity of the situation in Europe. China has fought four years of gruelling war as much for the good of the world as for her own. The nations friendly to her should regard it as imperative both for the protection of their own interests and for the sake of the world's future that an end be put to the outrageous depredations of Japan. That done, Asia, America, Australia and Africa can bring their combined weight to bear on the enterprise of imposing a settlement of the European hostilities. If they wishfully think the Japanese may experience a change of heart and suppose it safe to let them have their way for the time being, they will find their error as disastrous as the policy of appeasement pursued until recently by European countries towards Germany. If they conceive it possible to distinguish between the Axis Powers and Japan, striking at the former and letting the latter have rein, the consequences are likely to be shocking. I am convinced that no democratic country can afford to view with the unconcern of a spectator the fierce flames of war in Asia until they find their own territory ablaze.

Thirdly, the present division of the world into two camps is perfectly clear. Japan, Germany and Italy compose a bloc the sole policy and purpose of which is aggrandizement at the expense of the rest of the world. As a result all peoples loving peace and freedom have drawn themselves up in an opposing front. We Chinese firmly hold that that front is potentially far stronger than the aggressor's. In order to insure victory its strength must however be developed to the utmost by close cooperation with one another in the course of the life-and-death contest that has now begun. The vision must not be narrowed by attention to trivial and merely immediate features of the situation. Indecision and vacillation must be eliminated. They must make up for lost time and wrest the initiative

from the aggressors. They must not give the latter enough time to consolidate their gains and strike with strategic advantage. It is now widely argued whether Japan will move southward or northward. Some people seem to assume that she is not in a position to strike in either or both directions and will possibly devote her further effort of aggression to attacking China alone. To my mind, we must carefully guard ourselves against any calculation based upon such argument or assumption, because the aggressors are both opportunists and adventurers, and therefore are capable of all sudden and unpredictable actions. Any miscalculation on our part may entail grave consequences.

I would conclude by expressing a certain point of view in respect to the assistance rendered China by her friends among the nations. The Chinese people will ever remember it with gratitude. Our neighbor Soviet Russia, America of the Western Hemisphere, and England, contending herself with the greatest adversity of circumstances, have all contributed generously to our support in resistance, thus encouraging and inspiring us. The Chinese Government and people will certainly act up to the trust put in them, for not to do so would be to fail the ideals animating their own strivings and sacrifices. At the time when the War of Resistance began I said that we were engaged in a conflict of good with evil, or equity and justice with brute force. Now we hope and believe that there will be more effective collaboration between China and her friends. The aim is the same for all of us: President Roosevelt expressed it in terms of four freedoms which all humanity has the right to enjoy. It is my privilege to declare that the Chinese people are combating Japan not only for the negative purpose of putting an end to Japanese aggression, but also as their means of contributing to a free world order of the future, to the civilization and prosperity of mankind. That is their great determination.

That All May Not Be Lost in the Hour of Triumph

*A message to the Army and people on the fourth
anniversary of the war, July 7, 1941.*

JULY 7, 1941.

SOLDIERS AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN:

THE War of Resistance has now been fought through four full years. We have recently witnessed a rapid and luminous series of developments in the international situation and may count ourselves highly privileged to belong to a people whose service is wholly dedicated to the world's good in an age so extraordinary. The future holds out for us a glory only equaled by the immensity of the task still confronting us; a due sense of our situation should exalt and purify our minds. With the Japanese it is otherwise: in increasing trepidation they plunge on into ever deeper toils of their own rash and reckless courses. Now the world finds itself divided by a rigidly drawn line into two camps, the one practicing aggression, the other withstanding the forces of aggression. The Axis Powers have extended the range of their aggression in both Europe and Asia while in opposition to them the peace-loving nations make common cause in the defence of justice and human civilization. As I have said before, "we are fighting to discharge a responsibility that involves the whole trend of world affairs; in that light are to be seen final victory and true success." A comprehensive review of international developments shows us laid bare the pernicious plans of the aggressors and a strengthened co-operation among the powers pitted against them. We had anticipated the direction events would take. Now the powers concerned with the Pacific are each undertaking an appropriate share of the burden and acting in close collaboration with one another. Japanese aggression is arrived at a day of reckoning with those determined to check it; its exhausted leaders are groping their way along the last stretch of their road to ruin. That ruin will be one with the ruin of the Axis Powers and

the clearing up of the world horizon. So striking a reshaping of the situation has not come about without due cause. It has been won in bloody combat by our soldiers and by the sacrifices of the whole people. Today we should commemorate with poignant sorrow the price paid. At the same time we have ourselves to renew our exertions to carry to completion the unfinished task.

I need not dwell on the weaknesses military, political and economic that the past year has brought to light on the enemy's side. To mention however a few of the salient points: there was the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact, followed by the treaty with Wang Ching-wei, the declaration of a "New Order for Greater Eastern Asia," threats to the South Seas and a grand display of outrageous proposals for expansion. Subsequently Matsuoka triumphantly returned from his European travels, swaggering and as proud as Punch, giving himself all the airs in which men of little character indulge when pleased with themselves. Within the past six months, however, in the South Pacific, Britain, America, Australia and the Netherlands have established a system of joint defense; in the North, Soviet Russia, no dupe of Japanese tricks and professions, has in no way relaxed her vigilance; and in the United States we have seen enacted the Lend-Lease legislation and the measures taken to defend Guam and the Samoan Islands. With the introduction of two-ocean distribution of the American Navy a further step was taken in the steady prosecution of the policy of setting bounds to Japanese aggrandizement. In short the Island Empire is today encircled by a tightening defensive cordon formed by the Powers interested in the Pacific—a cordon no struggles will avail it to shake off. The case with Japan has always been an utter inadequacy of strength to second the measureless ambitions she conceived. The present circumstances are terrifying and perplexing for her. Ever since the Russo-German conflict began, a succession of hastily convened conferences of cabinet ministers and military chiefs has been observed in Tokyo. The outside world has been treated to ambiguous utterances, the Japanese public to all sorts of apologetic assurances. A crowning touch to the picture of resourcelessness was added with the Tokyo visit of Wang Ching-wei.

This Wang regime has never been more substantial than an animated wax work; all the world has turned its back upon it and

in itself it does not merit our attention, confident as we are of its powerlessness to obstruct the War of Resistance, however many scoundrels Wang may add to his entourage. This visit of his to Tokyo, however, his audience with the Emperor, all the bowing and scraping that attended the granting of his 300,000,000-dollar loan makes up a page of history without parallel in the gross display of shameless treachery afforded. Disgust and indignation fill us at this outrage both to the reputation of the Chinese nation and to the moral sensibility of all mankind. From another point of view, this fishing out of the long-neglected Wang is indicative of the straits in which the Japanese find themselves. Wang will be dragged down together with them when they come to their destined end; meanwhile he has basked in this last delusive caress of the rays of their sinking sun.

The whole nation should realize that it is these four years' striving to which are due the advancement of the War of Resistance and the clarification of the international scene. Everything has occurred as we anticipated. For this vital period of four years we have held back the enemy and dissipated the strength he might have employed to work his evil will elsewhere in the world. Friendly nations were thus afforded time in which to make their preparations. In this respect it may be said we have already achieved a preliminary success that assures us of the ultimate defeat of the Japanese and brings us within sight of the glorious day of victory. We ought nevertheless to be on our guard, remembering that in human affairs failure frequently overtakes enterprises on the very point of consummation. Latent peril attends the near approach of a favorable issue. The Japanese are still intent upon further military action against China; they are also, it seems certain, about to summon up their last remaining energies for inroads into other regions of the globe. They may strike north or south or simultaneously in both directions, but we must not permit the apparent multiplicity of their objectives to mislead us into any slackening of our attacks or lack of vigilance, letting slip the finest of opportunities for counter-offensive operations. Whichever way they move their objective remains as much in China as elsewhere; the slightest laxity on our part might lose us all the ground gained in the years. The shocking and amazing vicissitudes we have seen convulse the face of world affairs

during the year past can leave us in no doubt that the alternative to victory is destruction, and that if we cannot be masters of our fate we must fall into ignominious slavery.

Today Asia outweighs Europe in importance as a factor in world developments. We are a great Asiatic nation and the war in the Orient revolves about us; we are called upon to shoulder responsibility for the security and well-being of Asia. Our mission is no less a matter of nation-building than of armed resistance; failing the completion of both tasks there can be no worthy vindication of the sacrifices that have been made for the cause. My desire is to appeal to every man of you for a severer consciousness of the dictates of duty, with especial reference to the three points I am about to make.

First: By unity of will and purpose to intensify our fighting strength: Since the war began the whole country has subscribed to the maxims "nation above all" and "victory first." Now we have entered a new period wherein the outcome of resistance will affect the interests of all mankind as well as decide the survival of our own people. Our sense of this tremendous responsibility can but impel us to explore every possibility of augmenting our strength. To that end, weapons and material of war and the will to strike are of course considerations of primary moment; yet of even greater importance I hold solidarity, a pervading unanimity of intention binding us all one to another, whether it be in the work of reconstruction or of the prosecution of the war. In the midst of bewildering fluctuations of world events that toss men and nations this way and that, we are compelled to realize the respect of others is only to be won by a due measure of self-respect; and only thus can our heads be kept above water and the aggressors overthrown. Let us reflect that nothing will be left if the nation goes under; if national freedom be lost, there will be no supporting life. Solidarity is to be built upon the basis of the whole nation's interests. In our revolutionary work of reconstruction we already have the necessary singleness of aim; we have only to center our minds in all sincerity upon the realization of the Three Principles of the People in order to assume worthily the mission this age has made ours.

Second: By development of the national genius to build up the basis for its regeneration. Reconstruction has to take a definite

shape during the period of resistance. In my view it is reconstruction in the domain of the mind that should take precedence in our concern even over the material aspect. Deficiencies in material circumstances can be made up for by the resources of the spirit. At present we are behindhand as much in the quality of our spirit as in the scientific and technical spheres of national activity. What is termed psychological reconstruction turns upon the citizen's ability to bring home to himself the sacred nature of his responsibilities and duties and to maintain constant progress towards a greater awareness of his personal obligation to make every sacrifice they demand of him. The individual's sense of responsibility and observance of discipline are the essential keys to success for reconstruction; the quickening of his moral perceptions is the way to remedy for the defects of the past and the reclamation of dissipated and abused energies. I am particularly anxious to rouse all servants of the state in positions of responsibility to a keener appreciation of what their positions entail in terms of obligation to serve the public interest scrupulously and diligently. They have to live up to the trust placed in them by nation and people. The mass of other citizens have at the same time to maintain discipline, doing each his duty to the best of his or her ability, with the one aim of setting the nation well and surely on the road to rehabilitation. Do not, I enjoin upon you, take my words as uttered by way of routine. Realize that if now after the unprecedented sacrifices made and the lessons taught us of late years we still fail to achieve internal reformation and revival of the national spirit, the nation will cease to be such, the people will perish as one unworthy of the name: even victory in war will not dispel the certainty of failure in reconstruction. So may all the labor be wasted in the very hour of triumph and we betray a thousand unborn generations of our kind.

Third: By making sure of the essentials in reconstruction to complete the enterprise of revolution. Complex as the work of reconstruction is, its three most important elements are the military, educational and economic; the life of a modern nation hangs upon what it achieves in these three fields. Commanding officers, educators, technicians and economists are therefore the backbone of personnel directing the undertakings of reconstruction. The development of the strength, and the pioneering of the future of the nation

are rather peculiarly their responsibility. In military, educational and economic affairs there are certain salient *points de depart* due recognition of which can yield double the reward of effect to exertions made, and which I propose to deal with under the following heads:

(1) As regards the conduct of military affairs, morale and discipline have a prior claim upon our attention. The will to sacrifice, to defy odds, to dispute every inch of ground, to stand to one's post at peril of death, and moreover such discipline as renders the movements of men advancing or retreating entirely coherent and co-ordinated, discipline that allows no order to go unbeyed or partially executed. Sound morale and strict discipline ensure that full advantage is had of the skill, weapons and manpower available.

(2) In education the chief emphasis should fall on the cultivation of character and physique. Scientific instruction and vocational training are a secondary consideration; above all, the aim should be the tempering of moral fibre, the forging of students' character to the end that they may do justice to themselves as young citizens of modern China. The traditional philosophy and morality of our country should be exploited as a means to this steeling of the young in mind and body, this fitting of them to endure hardship and undertake onerous tasks. The success of our education depends upon the attainment of this dual aim of molding the moral and physical constitution of our youth.

(3) In economic affairs efforts should be primarily directed along the two lines of production and communications. The backwardness of the country on the material side of reconstruction necessitates the concentration of our best energies on the advance of mining, agricultural and industrial production with the fullest co-operation between government and individuals, state and private enterprise. By management, planning and the granting of subsidies a particular preference should be accorded branches of production affording scope for unskilled labor. All available means of communication by land and water must be developed to the full in order to realize Dr. Sun's conception of the "free flow of goods" as a fundamental requisite of economic reconstruction. For the nation both at war and after in time of peace adequate production and efficient provision for transport are essential to economic health.

THAT ALL MAY NOT BE LOST IN THE HOUR OF TRIUMPH

I pass on to express the hope that all administrative legislation and provisions, the new system of *hsien* administration with its profound bearing on local autonomy and the people's livelihood, and the recently enacted legislation regarding land policy and food control, will meet with the wholehearted readiness of all fellow-countrymen to forward their execution. They are fundamental to the very existence of the state; the country imperatively requires their smooth and rapid translation into practice; the souls of a host of dead demand it.

Soldiers, fellow-countrymen: Today the War of Resistance enters upon its fifth year, events in the world are moving ever more rapidly, survival and freedom are to be won out of this last remaining bout of the struggle. The world is about to undergo a general resettlement of its affairs, and the first of necessities for that will clearly be the overthrow of the Japanese aggressor. Therefore while we employ our whole strength in the endeavor to wrest victory out of this conflict with that aggressor we are discharging toward the world a responsibility that forms our proper contribution towards that settlement. While the War of Resistance continues we shall, in addition to that, be building up a nation such as may render secure the happiness of our descendants. On this New Year's Day I declared: "The year to come will be a most trying and momentous period in our history." The whole army and people ought to conceive the endurance these past four years have demanded of us as inconsiderable beside what is to come in the course of bringing our mission to its final fruition. As we advance towards the light bearing up this heavy load of duty all the freedom-loving peoples of the world accord us their sympathy and wish us success and progress. Vigorously and courageously, my fellow-countrymen, forward!

The Time Sets Against the Aggressor

A message marking the fourth anniversary of the outbreak of fighting in Shanghai on August 13, 1937.

AUGUST 13, 1941.

ON THIS day a year ago I asked my fellow-countrymen to consider the tremendous significance of the Battle for Shanghai that began on August 13, 1937. I said: "That campaign set in motion our national effort to defend ourselves and our independence; for the enemy it was his first step in a career of ruin. The day the fighting at Shanghai began determined the way things were to go with the Japanese and Chinese peoples and the future course of Oriental affairs." You may remember these words. Today we are arrived at the fourth anniversary of the eventful day, the glorious history of which, together with the current features and possible future developments of the situation, I wish briefly to touch upon here, my concern being as much to put myself in mind of the stern nature of my own responsibilities as to instruct you.

The Japanese militarists set out on the path of aggression with the aim of world conquest in view; the subjugation of Eastern Asia forms a stage in the development of that great plan. The seizure of Manchuria was the prelude to the latter undertaking, the Shanghai fighting of 1937 the actual beginning of it. China then fought to protect her territory and, fully aware of the wider issue, for the lasting security of peace in the Pacific. For four years we have called upon the world to realize the necessity of united efforts to check the rapacity of this aggressor if any genuine relief for the world's troubles is to be had. Sensible, however, of our status as a weak country, we were apprehensive of distrust; we preferred to prove our contention by deeds and the maintenance of our rightful purpose with the unaided strength of our arms. Now, after more than four years of war we witness the beginnings of collective action against Japan on the part of countries friendly to our cause; the

assertion we made is acclaimed on all sides as prophetically correct. The enemy meanwhile, though desperately at a loss to make the choice, no longer attempt any concealment of their lusting design to attack other nations to north or south.

Following the submission of Indo-China, the Japanese appeared bent, recklessly and brazenly, and to the exclusion of any other thought, upon the expansion of their so-called "co-prosperity sphere" to Thailand, Burma and the Dutch East Indies, and beyond even over Oceania. With the outbreak of the Russo-German conflict and the abrupt change it caused in the world situation, Japan instead saw a better opening for a northward move and accordingly began moving troops to the northeast in preparation for an attack on Siberia—the attainment of her predatory designs on the Continent being the end in view. During the past month she coerced French Indo-China into an agreement for joint defense and garrisoned the country with her forces, turning then with scarcely a pause to Thailand and exerting all manner of pressure upon that country in order to seize the resources and dominate the trade and utilize the bases of a land whence she could make a bid for mastery of the whole Pacific, driving out British and American influence and at last establishing the "New Order for Greater Eastern Asia." At the present moment, however, Britain, America, the Dutch East Indies and other countries, their anger aroused at the Japanese annexation of Indo-China and threat to Thailand, are making, in consultation with one another, thorough and formidable preparations to restrain the aggressor. They have begun with economic sanctions and are proceeding to measures of armed defense. Soviet Russia, though preoccupied with war in the west, has never relaxed her defensive vigilance in the East. To the south therefore the Japanese find the powers in their path united to defend the South Seas; and their navy, they know, is no match for the navies of Britain and America. In the north their recourse would have to be an army disqualified by its immersion in the slough of China from serving in a fresh adventure. They see the opportunity passing and their Continental and Pacific policies rendered unrealizable. At the same time China's war of self-defense has entered upon a stage wherein our high responsibility for the protection of the Pacific is about to be fulfilled.

What I would impress upon you is: the freezing of Japanese

assets by the British, American and Dutch governments, the abolition of Japan's commercial treaty with Britain, the tightening of the American embargo on export of oil to Japan, the Dutch suspension of the financial agreement between the Netherlands East Indies and Japan—this series of economic sanctions imposed upon the enemy as a check to their recent threats of aggression in the Pacific has reduced them to a state of prostration they cannot conceal. In casting about for some means to effect a temporary patching up of their affairs they will turn to the occupied areas of China and try to get their puppets to squeeze for them larger profits from the exploitation of the resources and the markets in those areas. The people there will be subjected to new extremities of their base and brutal methods of plunder. My sympathy for fellow-countrymen in the occupied areas and in particular for those who live in the evil atmosphere of Shanghai, is more profound than I can express. They must bear in mind that all they do now to second the economic action of the powers against Japan by waging relentless economic strife with the invader will have a value immeasurably greater than was the case in the past. If they are ready to endure and sacrifice for the sake of frustrating the exploitation of the Japanese, interrupting their communications, hindering the sale of their products, and in every other possible way striving to bring to nought their hope of economic relief from the areas of China under their control, the contribution thus made to the cause will equal that of the men confronting the enemy force in the field. Such is the nature of the responsibility all people in the occupied areas and workers and merchants in Shanghai should realize their efforts must be bent to discharge, if their duty as citizens is to be done.

Of the world situation it only remains to say that the division of the contending forces into two clearly distinguishable camps of the aggressors on the one hand and those fighting aggression on the other and the consequently heightened tension in the Pacific have brought Japan perceptibly nearer the day of her collapse. Victory however is not to be passively awaited; into the final battles to come our whole weight must be thrown. China is the country most directly affected by Japanese aggression and we stand most deeply committed to the task of defeating it; all peace-loving peoples watch the manner in which we are acquitting ourselves. It must be clear

TIME SETS AGAINST THE AGGRESSOR

to you all that what I called on New Year's Day the "most trying and momentous period" has now begun. On the field of battle, in the rear, in town and countryside, the response of redoubled efforts is required by the exigencies of the time. Here I address in particular my fellow-countrymen in the occupied areas and of them is demanded utter indifference to the menace and bribery of the Japanese and to the puppets' attempts to introduce defection in their ranks, and inflexible determination to maintain solidarity in the face of the common enemy. I am convinced the hour is now soon to strike when we shall see our mission of Resistance and Reconstruction achieved and the deaths avenged of so many who have nobly laid down their lives for that cause. There is the saying, "to work in due season matters more than to possess the tools." The season of victory is at hand; let us all be at work!

The Northeast and Territorial Integrity

*A message to the nation on September 18, 1941,
on the tenth anniversary of occupation of the
Northeastern Provinces (Manchuria) by Japan.*

SEPTEMBER 18, 1941.

TODAY we commemorate the day of national humiliation that occurred on September 18 just ten years ago. For a decade our Northeastern fellow-countrymen have endured under the oppression of the Japanese a hellish life of spoliation and outrage. In indignation at the intolerable wrongs done them, the whole people under the leadership of their government went through a period of energetic preparation to the point of entering upon their crusade of resistance. Losses without parallel in history have since been incurred and today the war continues, the will of the nation unanimously prepared to make all the sacrifices required. This is because we are resolved to assert and maintain the absolute inviolacy of China's territorial sovereignty, to recover the lost territory of the Northeastern Provinces and to release their inhabitants from the atrocious miseries of invasion. There will be no cessation of resistance until the Japanese armies are wholly expelled from the land and the thought of conquest utterly eradicated from the minds of the Japanese, until the freedom of the Northeasterners is regained and their provinces restored. It is a matter of the loss to China of an area geographically essential to her national defenses, where there are resources equally indispensable to us. We can go so far as to say that if liberty and independence cannot be won for the thirty million Northeasterners the whole country will eventually also be enslaved beyond all hope of deliverance. Their lives are one with the lives of all other citizens and the soil whereon they live is one with the rest of the country; there can be no separating any portion of Chinese territory from the whole. Surviving, we shall survive together; or, if we perish, we shall perish as one man. This we must hold an unassailable axiom of our policy.

The boundless sacrifices of the past decade have been made for the sake of achieving the complete liberation of the Chinese nation and people and of securing for them a status of true independence and equality among the nations of the world.

In the Northeast there dwell thirty millions of a fine and sturdy population; there are 240,000,000 *mow** of farmlands; there are 200,000,000 *mow* of fertile land yet uncultivated; there are 600,000,000 *mow* of standing timber; there are 2,000,000,000 tons of unmined metal and other minerals. Some of the resources most important to our people's livelihood are to be found there; all the conditions essential to the reconstruction of a modern nation prevail there. The ports, strategic positions, mines, railways and other lines of communication detailed by Dr. Sun in his plan for industrial development were largely centered about the Northeast. Its abundant material and human resources touch the life of the nation closely; without them it can scarcely be preserved. They are certainly not to be given up to the enemy for use against China and the world. Taking a world view of things, we see that the Northeast, apart from its bearing upon Chinese national survival, is of the first consequence to the safety of East Asia and the entire world. As long as the Northeast remains under the control of the Japanese the peace-loving nations of the world can know no immunity from their acts of aggression. The proposal to "disarm the aggressor nations" will all the more obviously be impracticable while Japan is still in possession of such a source of strength.

The prolonged hardships and heroic deeds of the Northeasterners are of a significance and value to the whole nation as it strives to bring them relief. In fact the sum of all that the rest of the nation has endured and lost may a thousand times exceed that of their sacrifices. They should be thereby inspired to greater efforts in the struggle against the enemy in his rear, in the endeavor to render his occupation of the territory as little profitable as possible to him. That is the minimum measure of responsibility which they can hold as theirs. If they can fulfill it they will be effectively seconding the splendid work of resistance in all other parts of the country, and we shall all be marching together on the sure road to our goal.

*One *mow* is equivalent to one-sixth of an acre.

It must be realized how closely relevant the fate of the four Northeastern Provinces is to the advance of the Revolution and the development of world events. In 1914 I had an opportunity for careful study of Northeastern conditions, and in a memorandum I then presented to Dr. Sun I wrote: "The Northeast is rather the destination of the Revolution than a starting-point for it. The area involves problems affecting the whole international situation. Its problems are not to be solved during the initial stages of the Revolution but to be approached as the Revolution nears completion." I again emphasized the international character of the Northeastern question at the time the Mukden Incident occurred, and since resistance began I have frequently reminded you that "the life of the entire nation being committed to this bid for survival, there can be no compromise short of the goal." I further made clear that "the duration of the war and the nature of its conclusion will be determined in conjunction with the general restoration of world peace and security." When I said that, it was fully evident that Japanese ambition and European quarrels had rendered inevitable a second world war. I also said: "China's resistance will be resolutely fought on, becoming a part of the world conflict, and concluding when Far Eastern and European problems find a common and integral solution." These words of mine command the assent of the entire nation.

The decade that has elapsed seems to me but as the passage of a day, for from that time I have considered it my peculiar responsibility to see the nation's honor vindicated and vengeance for the outrage exacted. It became my conviction that a long war must be waged if a genuine settlement of the issue was to be had. On the one hand I perceived the extremities of enemy ambition and brutality; on the other I reviewed the geographical, international and other features of our national position. Then I defined the national policy of resistance to Japan as follows: Firstly, China's territorial sovereignty and administrative integrity must be preserved intact; secondly, respect for international justice and equity must be enforced and the forces of aggression overthrown in order to establish permanent peace in the Orient and the world. For ten years our attachment to these principles has brought with it confidence in their attainability.

The origins of the Japanese ambition to conquer China are to

be traced far further back than September 18, 1931. Even in Ming times the predatory proclivities of the Japanese had become fully apparent. In those days Toyotami Hidekichi gave expression to the idea of "crossing the mountains and the seas, entering the land of Ming and making ours its four hundred counties." Later there was wild talk from one Shusin Soejima of "seizing lands from Ching (the Manchu Empire)" and of "making one province of the Ching domains a base on the Continent." So we see that the covetous desire for Chinese soil took root some three hundred or more years ago. At the time of the invasion of Korea and during the subsequent war with China the Japanese made the possession of our Northeast their objective. When in 1904 they entered upon the war with Russia they were intent on the same prize. The humiliation to which they have subjected China goes back three centuries to the days when their pirates marauded on our coasts; tales of their deeds are still current among the people of those districts.

September 18, 1931, however, is a date that marks the point at which Japanese aggression took on full definition of its enormous scope, being seen, as the Tanaka Memorial put it, to seek "the conquest of China, Asia, India and the South Seas" and "the domination of East Asia as a means to conquest of the world." The first step was the seizure of the Northeast to serve as a field headquarters in the campaign of global aggression. The history of conflict between China and Japan is written about the theme of the Northeast. Those powers resolved to prevent Japan's encroachment upon Asia and other parts of the world can ill afford to neglect the importance of the Northeast. That the leaders and publics of all countries should be properly aware of the relevant facts is as necessary as knowledge of them among the Chinese people. The loss of the provinces to China would inhibit her national reconstruction, and in Japanese hands they would be utilized not only in the destruction of China but also in the prosecution of aggressive expansion elsewhere in the world. Our survival and world security alike demand the expulsion of the invader from the Northeast and its integral restoration to the Chinese state.

These ten years have been years of trial and sacrifice for our armies and people. Today we find our cause has won due appreciation of its merits among the peoples of the world. Great indeed is

the contrast between China's circumstances in 1931 and the position in which she stands today. Since then the nations friendly to us have added practical action to verbal expressions of sympathy. America in particular, under the leadership of President Roosevelt and Mr. Cordell Hull, has proceeded from the "non-recognition principle" to one of drastic sanctions against Japan and material aid on a large scale for China. Other countries, such as Britain and Soviet Russia, are acting with a proper sense of their common interests in a similar manner and in collaboration one with another. All this has deeply gratified and elated us.

Though it has been resistance that has drawn the acclaim of the just-minded and consigned the Japanese to irremediable isolation in the Pacific, this state of affairs is to be referred at bottom to the action of the Japanese themselves in making enemies of China and the powers when they set out on the career of aggression that began with the Mukden Incident. At that time, in a letter to the then War Minister Minami, Honjo wrote: "China's revival and the progress of America and Russia are equally inimical to the national policy of Japan. Preparatory to war with the United States, China and Russia must be crushed and a separate country made of Manchuria and Mongolia under Japanese occupation. The next step must be invasion of Siberia in order to convert both the Seas of Okhotsk and of Japan into Japanese territorial waters. Going on, we must drive the Americans east of Hawaii and the English west of Singapore. In this way the Dutch East Indies, Australia and New Zealand shall all come under our hegemony." So we observe that Japan was in those days already bent upon bringing Britain, America, Russia and the Netherlands within the scope of her aggression. On September 18, 1931, the Japanese initiated the unfolding of a tremendous scheme comprising their Continental and Oceanic policies, the development of which whether to north or south has been prohibited by our resistance. They are pinned down and deprived of all freedom of movement as a result of the spiritual and military endeavors we have made in this decade of struggle. Today there is no "divine breath" to blow them the good fortune they experienced at the conclusion of the previous European war; they are irresolute and perplexed; they dare not repeat their former reckless feats of outrage to the interests of the Pacific powers. We ought therefore to keep

in mind how great is the achievement that has rewarded the exertions of resistance, how immense the contribution made to the good of the nation and the world. On the one hand we are full of confidence in the nations friendly to us and supremely optimistic regarding the future of the fight against the aggressors. On the other hand we believe a place of high honor and renown in the pages of human history is reserved for the part we are playing in that enterprise.

Fellow-countrymen, resistance has now reached a stage we anticipated three years ago, and we have in our grasp the destiny of the Northeast. I wish you fully to apprehend the meaning of the phrase I used: "the Northeast is the destination of the Revolution." The success of the Revolution and all that will attend upon it can be attained only through united and persevering devotion of the national energies to that end; indolence or complacency cannot be permitted to impair that constant devotion. Remember: "Heaven helps those who help themselves" and "others always help him who helps himself." Until all lost territory is recovered victory will not have been gained. The favored aspect of international affairs should only move us to enhanced self-mastery and self-reliance, so far from inducing any mood of relaxation and sanguine expectations of the best. We must continue in the spirit of independent renaissance evoked by this war, being prepared at all times for the worst possible eventualities. From height to height, slipping only to regain a new foothold, we must press forward to the realization of our unvarying policy and the fulfilment of our responsibilities.

On so solemn a day as this I would have every citizen search his heart and reflect upon the record of action and endurance this decade and especially the years since 1937 have laid up. It is a record of blood and tears shed without distinction of place or person. The waves of a flood of national wrath have beaten on the aggressor's ranks and are washing away the miasma of invasion and the fetor of treachery, dispersing the vapors that would threaten to obscure the hope of peace for Asia and the world. The story is one of the noblest and most moving in the annals of mankind and it has been written, we can plainly inform both friends and enemies, that the independent existence of the Chinese people as a nation may be preserved together with our territorial sovereignty and administrative

integrity. Death shall not daunt us nor difficulties obstruct our utter determination to free the Northeast and its inhabitants from the oppression under which the land has groaned since 1931. With a status of true freedom and equality China shall take her place in a system of lasting peace in the Orient and the world re-established on foundations of justice and equity. Failing that end, there can be no cessation of resistance. While a single man of the invader's forces remains upon our soil and the slightest infraction of our territorial sovereignty persists, resistance cannot halt. I am sure that the Pacific powers friendly to us will continue a steady tightening and strengthening of the cordon of restraining pressure they have drawn about Japan; that in no case will they slacken it. For our part we shall go unwaveringly upon our way. In the course of the ten years past and under the blows of our prolonged resistance the criminal initiator of aggression in the Far East has been weakened to the point of collapse and awaits the consummation of his ruin. That is the reflection that should hearten and spur us on as we commemorate this day of national mourning. Fellow-countrymen, let us endeavor for every day each of us has to live to show our sense of the sacrifices made by those who have died for the cause, and worthily to display our feeling for the loyal citizens laboring under the tyrannies of the enemy in all we do to discharge our responsibility towards mankind and its ideal of justice among nations.

Vigilance and Discipline

*A message issued to the nation on October 10, 1942,
the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the
Chinese Republic.*

OCTOBER 10, 1941.

ON THIS thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Republic we shall do well earnestly to reflect upon the glories of the revolutionary past and the tremendous possibilities of the future that lies before our country. We have to carry forward the great purpose for which the revolutionary martyrs gave their lives.

I have often spoken of the Revolution in terms of the internal and the international significance, and I am accustomed to consider its development as having two periods, the first being the course of internal unification and the second being devoted to the attainment of national independence, freedom and equality of status for China among the nations of the world.

Five years of resistance have laid the foundations of victory and steadily raised us in the opinion of the world. The cooperation of friendly nations with us has taken on a definite shape. There are two outstanding features of the affairs during the past twelve months. First the true road to international peace has been recognized and the powers opposed to the aggressors have closed their ranks; the peace-loving nations have ranged themselves in the Pacific against Japan, throwing a restraining cordon about her—a cordon designed to halt any further aggressive adventure she may attempt. Secondly, China has placed herself on an equal footing with other nations. The age of the unequal treaties that began in 1840 lasted a century and may be said to have closed with the declarations of the British and American governments regarding their intention to relinquish all extraterritorial rights in China. The first step toward the realization of Dr. Sun's life-long aspiration has thus been taken; that is

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indeed a matter for congratulation today. Vast obstacles have yet to be encountered and overcome, but no evil forces can obstruct our bright future.

A glance into history is sufficient to show that nations rise or fall according as they stand firm and vigilant or relapse into ways of ease and sloth. To be secure of a bright future a nation must not permit itself to be blinkered by trivial and transient issues but must gaze forward into the boundless spaces of the future. Today we observe the vacillation and trepidation of the Japanese as they cast desperately about for some means of dissembling their defeat. On the other hand we see the great enterprise of our national reconstruction fairly set in motion upon the sure road to success.

At this juncture, our soldiers should fight all the more bravely to fulfill our share of responsibility as a member of the anti-aggression bloc. All citizens should serve the country with increased determination to endure and sacrifice, and loyally observe the Citizen's Pact and wartime ordinances, thereby doing their duty as citizens of a nation at war. All intellectuals and leaders of society should grasp with fresh insight the special character of the Chinese revolution, form the loftiest conception of their responsibilities, and direct their fellow-citizens in the work of production and in the application of scientific methods to national defense and economic development. Professional men and public servants must keep in mind the sufferings of our soldiers and people, bestirring themselves to eliminate habits of laxity and approximation, cultivating those of precision and honesty, purging abuses and enhancing the efficiency of their work, to the end that the foundations of reconstruction may be well built and criteria established to guide its future progress. Party men should hold their lives consecrated to the revolution and be ready to brave peril in course of action contributing to realization of the Three Principles of the People and success in the restoration of China's national status. In this way they can do justice to the unfinished task of the revolutionary martyrs.

In conclusion, I would have you all reflect upon Dr. Sun's declared belief that the revolution could be carried to completion within thirty years. To our shame it has not proved so. I nevertheless firmly believe that by now enough has been done to ensure eventual success; I hold that there is no longer room for doubt.

VIGILANCE AND DISCIPLINE

In these days of dawning victory circumspection and vigilance are especially required of all; standing each at his post of duty we must outdo one another in the race to reach the perfection we envisage. The slightest negligence might jeopardize the issue and cause us to fail the dead and incur the opprobrium of generations unborn. On this anniversary day I would have all my fellow-countrymen think, as I do, of the great act of revolution begun at Wuchang thirty years ago, and swear service to the ideals and aims cherished by the Father of the Republic and by every man who has given his life for the cause of the Revolution and of resistance.

The Engineer's Role in National Crisis

A telegram dispatched to the Tenth Annual Meeting of the Association of Chinese Engineers held at Kweiyang, Kweichow, on October 20, 1941.

OCTOBER 20, 1941.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF CHINESE ENGINEERS:

IT HAS been a great pleasure to hear that you are holding the Tenth Annual Meeting and simultaneously commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of your Association. Valuable results are sure to come of this gathering of engineering experts from all parts of the country for the purpose of discussing the present phase of national reconstruction.

Although modern Chinese engineering began in days prior to the Republican era, it was really with the founding of the Republic and the inauguration of your Association that serious progress commenced. During the thirty years that have since elapsed China, despite the handicaps that have prevented her development on a scale comparable with other modern nations, has at least laid the groundwork of her material reconstruction. Communications, mines, ship-building and water conservancy, and the industries related to national defense, have engaged the active attention of our engineers, with results they deserve to be well congratulated upon.

Our deficiencies of men and resources, our poverty of experience in scientific research, retarded industrial development and rendered the country economically and militarily unprepared to withstand invasion. Four years of war have vividly impressed on us the importance of defense industries and caused us to make great efforts to advance industrial reconstruction work. Success will require unceasing continuance of these efforts. Reconstruction will not be achieved in a day. China has lagged far behind the rest of the world in modern scientific progress. In the future there will be the increasing need of discovering and training engineering talents, en-

couraging collaboration between the business and technical sides of industrial enterprise, stimulating the spirit of original research, and bringing into closer contact workers in different fields of science. We must also seek academic and technical co-operation in our relations with other countries. Progress in research work will lead to greater efficiency in industrial enterprises. National economy will benefit proportionately.

A nation in the world today depends for its existence as much upon its preparedness to defend itself as upon a high quality of national morale. The development of engineering theory and practice is an indispensable requirement of national defense. During the past year I have repeatedly called upon my fellow-countrymen to realize the importance of national defense, for without national defense no nation can exist. I have therefore said that we must put two great aims before us now: victory in resistance and, in reconstruction, absolute security in national defense. The equipment of all the armed services demands the skill of engineers in its production; communications and transportation unceasingly require it. A nation can in no respect be strong unless its engineers can constantly be pressing forward to fresh and greater achievements. National defense requires, as Dr. Sun taught, full and general realization of the importance of science and the acquisition of mechanical ability and aptitudes among our people.

The Government has issued its "General Scheme of National Reconstruction," and for the implementation of most of its provisions for the economic reconstruction of the country the whole-hearted co-operation of engineers will be indispensable. Dr. Sun's Plan for Industrial Development remains the most comprehensive and final statement of our national policy in this respect. Last year you organized a committee for the study of this Plan and the drawing up of minute, practicable projects. I am informed that some of the main points have already been sketched, and will be presented for discussion at this annual meeting. I am confident that this product of expert opinion will be a sound contribution to the groundwork of national defense and reconstruction. Nothing could be more valuable today.

Your Association was founded at the time of the birth of the Republic; the labors attendant on its growth have been contem-

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poraneous with those whereby the Republic has been fashioned. It is noteworthy that a far greater number of men entering universities this year are taking courses in engineering; this is a reflection of a national change of attitude. It means that there will be no lack of recruits for the profession in future years, and to guide them in their service to the country is the mission of your Association. I feel confident that you will not fail to appreciate the significance of the hour and discharge your responsibilities to the nation and to the engineering sciences.

CHIANG CHUNG-CHENG (Chiang Kai-shek)

Growing Unity Among Anti-Aggression Nations

An interview granted to more than a score of foreign correspondents at his home in Chungking on November 7, 1941.

NOVEMBER 7, 1941.

IT IS not often that I have the opportunity to meet all the representatives of the press from friendly nations. I remember one such occasion in Nanking in the third month of our War of Resistance, and another in Chungking in 1939. You will all understand that there are responsibilities which make it difficult for me to discuss every phase and every detail of the long and cruelly exhausting War of Resistance against Japanese aggression.

I am all the more glad to have this opportunity of meeting so many of the representatives of the press of so many of the countries which are like China actually fighting against aggression and invasion, or like America courageously supporting the struggle against aggression. This is a very significant point in our united struggle. The initiative is still with the aggressors. Resistance is now fully aroused, in the West and in the East, but it is still the aggressors who plan where to strike the next blow. At this moment, however, there is a greater degree of organized unity among the democratic, anti-aggression countries in the steps they are taking to parry each new blow and forestall each new threat. We Chinese have been acutely conscious of this growing unity. We have served the longest in the front lines; we see clearly that on each and every front the opportunity to pass from defense to counterattack and final victory will depend on the degree of unity and co-ordination between all our fronts in the world.

We believe that after the present world war there will come about a fundamental reform of the life and thought of humanity. The following are facts that may serve to corroborate this contention.

Let me recall that there was a time when only we Chinese ourselves and a few foreign friends were fully aware of our will

and strength to hold out. Most others thought we could not possibly endure the punishment inflicted on our flesh and blood by the superior armaments of Japan. But we held out, and it is because we have held out for more than four years that Japan is so immobilized in China as to be unable to launch any fresh adventure elsewhere. We have come to constitute an essential part of the front-line defense of friendly territories beyond the borders of China, and particularly of territories bordering the Pacific.

There followed a time when few outside of Britain felt that she could avert the invasion of English soil. Knowing what it is to fight against such odds, all the free citizens of China, and especially our front-line veterans, offer unstinted tribute to the heroism that has defended the English Channel. We honor especially the daring and self-sacrifice that went out to meet the aggressors in Norway, in Greece, in Crete and in Libya.

Again there followed a time when few, outside of Soviet Russia, felt that on a battlefield ideally suited to the German armored columns it would be possible to resist for long the German armies which had already won victory after victory elsewhere. Our veterans at the front and our citizens in the rear are unanimous in their conviction that the heroic spirit of Russian resistance is bound to achieve final victory by exchanging space for time as we ourselves did in the first phase of our successful resistance.

Each of these phases repeats the lesson that we Chinese learned in 1931; when resistance begins on one front, it must be kept up. Otherwise, new fronts are threatened. When there is resistance on more than one front, it must be co-ordinated with that on others if united action to overthrow the common enemy is to succeed. Otherwise, the initiative rests with the aggressors. The importance of this lesson is emphasized by the fact that behind all of us who are fighting there stands a country whose people and great leader are ready to support the victims of aggression with economic resources and military strength, and assist them at the cost of material and human sacrifices. America's efforts and adherence to principle have been most fully understood and deeply appreciated the longest in China, where we know that in the modern world the front extends all the way from the factory to the trenches.

From four years of Chinese resistance and from the facts I

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have adduced all men may know that armed force is not a thing inordinately to be feared and hereafter there will be none oppressed by the fear of armed aggression and the threats of aggressors, and their doctrine that might is right will accordingly be banished from the earth.

All peoples must follow the Christian way of universal love in their treatment of one another. We believe that the true equality of man with man and a genuine world peace will be realized through the victory of justice and equity in this war.

Military effort is closely related to productive effort. The military and economic missions of friendly countries which are actively co-operating with our whole defense effort—at the front, in our arsenals, on our lines of communications, where their work extends throughout the economic and financial fields—are one of the strongest bases upon which is being built the unity of the nations fighting aggression. The benefit of the unity already achieved is apparent. On several fronts the aggressors are now arrived at an impasse forbidding further progress. Consequently they have resorted to intimidation, but in vain, for no one is any longer afraid of the “paper tiger” to which they may be compared. This means that the initiative is almost within our grasp. In the very near future, I believe that you will find my words proved true by events. Then I shall have the pleasure of seeing you again.

IV

**China Fights On With Allies
(1941-1943)**

America's Chance to Strike at Japan

*Opening address before the Second Session of the
Second People's Political Council on November
17, 1941.*

NOVEMBER 17, 1941.

MORE than six months have passed since the first session of this Council, and during this time some of you have been on a tour of inspection in the war areas, some of you have been taking part in the work of the Kangting-Sichang Investigation Mission, some of you have been canvassing subscriptions to the national bonds, and others of you have been engaged in all sorts of economic, educational, cultural and relief activities in various places. Now you have gathered here from far and wide with the intention of devoting all your energies to the public good. This is matter for profound gratification.

During this period the Government has been concentrating its efforts upon the development of local autonomy, financial adjustments, the general strengthening of national economy and the opening up of new lines of communication, all with a view to building up the forces of resistance. Detailed reports will be made for you to comment upon. In the present address I wish first of all to describe the supremely important and decisive phase upon which the War of Resistance and the international situation have now entered.

First. The most striking feature of events during the past six months has been the division of the whole world into two great camps, with the Nazi-dominated Axis countries aligned on the one side against the democratic nations on the other. The conflicts in the Orient and in Europe are now seen to involve one and the same issue. Solidarity of the forces resisting aggression had been materialized. The passage of the American Lend-Lease Bill, the heroic achievements of the Soviet armies, the progress made in co-ordinating defense in the Pacific, and President Roosevelt's repeated declaration of his country's determination to assist China, Britain and Russia—

all this is evidence of the genuine co-operation achieved by the democratic nations.

The past three months have seen the Japanese initiate negotiations with America only to proceed simultaneously to devote themselves to all manner of preparations for future acts of aggression. They have established a so-called "Headquarters of National Defense" at home, while abroad in Indo-China and in Manchuria they have steadily increased the strength of their armies. The present Tojo Cabinet has announced its intention of "disposing of the China Incident and breaking down the encirclement of Japan by hostile powers" and of bringing to bear to that end "granitic resolution and lightning activity." Sufficient proof of the Japanese resolve to embark on a fresh campaign in concert with the Axis is to be found in the recent revision of the conscription law whereby men between the ages of 40 and 50 and those of third-rate physique are being called to the colors, and the increase of military expenditure to 3,800,000,000 yen for the next four months.

Second. Chinese resistance has greatly exhausted the enemy's strength. His losses during the period between the Shangkai campaign in April and Second Changsha Battle in September were immense. His recent offensives against North Hupeh and Chengchow were on a very limited scale and brought him disastrous defeats. He has likewise been compelled to withdraw from many garrisoned points of the first importance. The war in China after more than four years has delayed Japan's scheme for attacks on other countries of the world. Germany has now been fighting with Soviet Russia for nearly five months and the European war is more than two years old. Had it not been for Chinese resistance Japan would certainly have seized the priceless opportunity to launch some predatory enterprise.

The Tojo Cabinet is now summoning up its courage to pierce the lines of encirclement and making a show of determination to strike at the Yunnan-Burma Road as the virtual beginning of southward expansion. A Japanese invasion of Yunnan would lead to attacks on Thailand, Singapore and other parts of the Southern Pacific region. The primary object would be to sever contact between the armies of resistance in China and the forces of the democratic powers without, as a necessary preliminary to further moves southward. China will

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naturally defend every inch of her territory and spare no effort to deal the enemy a blow hard enough to remove with his defeat the greatest obstacle to peace in the Far East. You will all be aware that the preparations for united democratic defense in the Far East are now complete. That happy circumstance is to be considered the fruit of China's four years of resistance. It is the achievement given the world by China's dogged efforts, by her resilient and selfless spirit, and in continuing to display that spirit we shall lend our full strength to the forces fighting aggression.

Third. As to the responsibility of Britain and America toward the Far East, I am sure they have no intention of dealing lightly with any one of the aggressors. The time is ripe for them to deal with Japan and they will not be diverted from their purpose by any such negotiations as those undertaken by Kurusu. My reasons for affirming this are as follows:

Firstly, the Japanese massing of troops in Indo-China with the object of cutting China's lines of communication contravenes two of the principles declared by President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill regarding the use and threat of armed force and the freedom of the seas and of trade.

Secondly, Japan has for ten years been violating her international undertakings and especially those of the Nine-Power Treaty, of which America is the leading signatory. She is not to be thought capable of deserting the principles that have determined the whole development of her national policy. Moreover by declaring herself the arsenal of the democracies America has signified her readiness to assert the cause of justice against the law-breaking ambitions of the aggressors. With Anglo-American military preparations in the Far East complete, she will all the more readily take action to that end.

Thirdly, despite all the honeyed words of the Japanese, America will not forget Konoye's assertion of last October, when he said: "If America cannot accommodate herself to the contentions of Japan and the Axis powers, there will definitely be war." Nor can America forget the words of Matsuoka: "If America persists in the attempt to maintain the status quo in the Pacific, there will be nothing for it

but war." Again, Mabuchi, a spokesman for the Army, declared a month or so ago that Japan must break through the encirclement of the ABCD bloc of powers and undertake a protracted war with Britain and America as the chief powers that compose that bloc.

Fourthly, the long list of incidents that have occurred since the war in China began, such as the wounding of the British Ambassador, the sinking of the *Panay* and the insulting treatment of British and American men and women at Peiping, Tientsin, Tsingtao and Shanghai, have left no room for doubt of the intention of the Japanese to assail Britain and America in the course of their campaign of aggression in China.

I am therefore certain that compromise with Japan on the part of Britain and America is impossible both on grounds of interest and principle, while I am equally confident that they will not let slip the present excellent opportunity of discharging their moral responsibility for the defense of peace in the Far East.

Fourth. Whereas the Japanese dream in vain of the settlement of "the China incident," I think it may rightly be said that now is the time when the powers fighting aggression can best, and most urgently ought to, liquidate "the Japan incident." Those powers command the strength of about nine-tenths of the world's population. In Russia the situation on the central front has been stabilized and the Nazi forces are at a standstill, confronted by unfavorable weather conditions. Britain has gained the mastery of the Mediterranean following successes won against the German and Italian naval forces. This winter is clearly a period that ought to be devoted to the smashing of Japan as a potential danger to the rear of the democratic forces in the world conflict. President Roosevelt predicts that 1943 will see the end of that conflict. I believe he has good reason for saying this.

It is unthinkable that the democracies should permit the Axis to threaten their rear and next spring see the Japanese launch an attack on Russia co-ordinated with a German offensive. Nor can they stand idle while Germany triumphs in the Near East and Japan strikes toward the Indian Ocean. A traditional maxim of the Chinese art of war is "first to crush the weakest member of an

alliance of enemies." Japan is the weakest link of the chain of aggressor nations but if time is allowed her to recuperate strength and maneuver as she pleases the consequence may very well be eventual defeat for the democracies. Now is the vital moment and opportunity that must by no means be neglected. Britain and America are no doubt fully aware of the facts.

Japan is now resorting to blandishments and intimidation. Abroad, the Japanese militarists trample upon mankind's conceptions of justice and equity; at home they flout the rights of their own people. By such conduct they are simply courting destruction. The Japanese are now conscious of the fact that they are hemmed in on all sides and face imminent ruin. To continue in their reckless courses will inevitably bring them to disaster; their national existence can only be preserved by their complete abandonment of thoughts of aggrandizement in submission to the demands of justice and equity.

In doing so there would be two points of the first importance in the conditions to be fulfilled: (1) The abandonment of the policy of aggression, with the withdrawal of all forces from Chinese soil, including the Northeastern Provinces, and a similar withdrawal from Indo-China. Garrisons in the Northeast are equivalent to forces posted as a menace to Siberia and garrisons in Indo-China equivalent to forces posted as a menace to the Philippines and Malaya. In neither case are they to be tolerated. The never-changing aim of our resistance has been the total preservation of China's territorial sovereignty and the Japanese must realize that we shall never accede to its infringement by a single Japanese remaining on our soil.

(2) Japan's detachment from the Axis alliance. The utter incompatibility of the aims pursued by the Axis powers and those opposing them necessitates for Japan's salvation her withdrawal from the Axis camp and the rejection of its aggressive principles and activities. Failing the willingness of the Japanese militarists to take this course there is nothing for it but their overthrow by the Japanese people. There is yet time for Japan to repent. She has now to choose between sincere allegiance or avowed opposition to the powers fighting aggression. There is no third course. The mind of those powers is irrevocably made up.

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Finally, let all of you here at this session realize that the issue of our War of Resistance is one with that of the struggle between the forces of light and darkness throughout the world, a struggle now approaching its climax. In the Far East the forces of justice and brute force are about to clash in decisive combat. It is the moment for us to exert our greatest efforts. The enemy is intent upon the destruction of China and we upon her preservation. He would plunge the Pacific into the darkness of Hell, while we strive to make it a lighthouse for mankind. That being the nature of the task we have undertaken, we shall surely stint no effort or sacrifice to accomplish it.

In Defense of Freedom

Messages dispatched to the United States through the North American Newspaper Alliance, and to England and Australia around November 17, 1941.

NOVEMBER 17, 1941.

TO THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

WHEN President Roosevelt recently paid tribute to the American workers who are making sacrifices in order that America may send planes to China, his words found an echo in every Chinese heart. We have passed through so much suffering that we are instantly sympathetic to any sacrifice made by others.

Moreover we know that in return for sacrifices made in common we shall share in common the rewards of victory, liberation, and democracy. Lincoln said that America could not exist half slave and half free. Today we know that the whole world cannot survive half slave and half free. America has just shown its continuing faith in this great principle declared by Lincoln, by responding to President Roosevelt's call for revision of the Neutrality Act. It is now clear to all that the freedom of the world and the freedom of America are inseparable.

The same faith is part of the very substance of the thought and idealism of China today. It is for that idea of a world standard of liberty and justice that hundreds of thousands of our young men have given their lives in battle, and fifty million people have abandoned their homes and withdrawn to Free China, rather than retreat from the freedom we have been building for thirty years, and especially for the last fifteen years, since the unification of the Republic.

The victory to which we are pledged will not be ours alone. The rising standard of living, the new production, the new needs and wants of 450,000,000 people eager for progress, will repay in busy American factories and expanding American trade the material and military and financial aid so generously extended to us.

When that time comes, continued friendly co-operation between a

prosperous America on the eastern side of the Pacific and a secure, rapidly developing China on the western side can provide the framework of a stable world peace. In that peace all the nations that have made a common stand against aggression will have their part. Beside them will stand the brave peoples whose nations have for the grim present been blotted out by aggression. Once freed of militarism and racial hate, there is no reason why every people and nation in the world should not take part in that peace, if it is to be worth our sacrifices.

If we now, in the time of trial and suffering, lay the foundations of that peace in honest recognition of the common rights and interests of all humanity, it will last for generations. Let us make that our task, for it expresses the ideals of the noble-minded men who founded the United States, the first of the great modern democracies; and it will also realize the inspiration which guided the life work of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who created the modern nation of China.

TO ENGLAND:

Each month that the war lasts emphasizes the growing unity of purpose between China and Britain. All the countries that are fighting against aggression have learned the truth of the words once said by an American patriot and recently quoted by Mr. Churchill: "United we stand, divided we fall." Mr. Churchill's latest bold and prompt response to a new threat of spreading aggression in Southeast Asia has especially come like a reinforcement of morale to the Chinese troops who for nearly four and a half years have held the oldest and most unequally equipped front against aggression.

Here in Asia the Burma Road is a visible symbol of unity in the defense of democracy and determination to extend the frontiers of democracy. It links the many hundred miles of China's battle lines with the bases of Britain's air power and sea power in Southwest Asia. Safeguarded by Britain's citadel at Singapore, our supplies reach us over the Burma Road; while we, in turn, by defending our native soil, defend Burma and Malaya from an attack by land.

This road is also a symbol of the future. When we have fought our way back to the sea, we shall have behind us in the heart of the Asiatic continent new communications and new industries as the

foundation of our new productive economy and restored political integrity.

All of this is part of the vision of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of our country, whose anniversary we have just been celebrating all over China. He looked far into the future to see all the nations which believe in liberty and progress participating in the development of a liberated and independent China. For that future, as well as in the ordeal of today, we welcome the partnership of Britain, whose people are making such great sacrifices for the sake of saving democracy and opening the whole world to democratic ideals.

TO AUSTRALIA :

For four years and four months China has been fighting for survival. It is not the mere idea of survival, however, which has inspired our 450,000,000 people to suffer the greatest sacrifices in all our many centuries of history. What we are fighting for, and what we shall win, is liberty.

Our long fight has made us keenly conscious of the way in which others besides ourselves meet danger and defend their freedom. We have seen creeping toward Australia the same shadow of aggression that has darkened China for so many years. The soldiers of China, and the men and women who carry on the work of the nation behind the lines, often under merciless bombing, have been heartened by the way in which Australia is responding to the challenge.

Just as Australians of their own free will have crossed the ocean to fight for Britain on many fronts, so hundreds of thousands of Chinese in many lands have given unstintingly to the defense of China. Many have returned to the mother country to serve on the military, economic, and technical fronts. Australians and Chinese have answered the same call in the same way because the liberty which you are creating in the vast continent of Asia is the same liberty which you are ready to defend far south of us in the Pacific, and ready to leave Australia to defend on any front where the aggressor strikes. We share ideas of honor and independence which are an earnest of a bright future for the whole world of the Pacific, when the light of freedom has prevailed over the darkness of aggression.

All We Are and All We Have

An exchange between Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and President Franklin D. Roosevelt on the day after Pearl Harbor.

DECEMBER 8, 1941.

IN THIS tragic hour when you too are assailed by the treacherous aggressor the people of China renew their gratitude to the people of the United States for the understanding and help that have been given us.

To our now common battle we offer all we are and all we have to stand with you until the Pacific and the world are freed from the curse of brute force and endless perfidy.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK

JAPAN first treacherously attacked and then declared war upon the United States. The Congress has declared the existence of a state of war between the United States and Japan.

In the valiant struggle of resistance which China has carried on for four and a half years against the invading forces of a predatory neighbor China has been made aware of this country's sympathy in principle and in practice. China is now being joined in her resistance to aggression by a host of other nations that have been menaced by Japan and the movement of conquest in which Japan is a major participant.

The struggle cannot be easily or quickly brought to a successful end. It will demand of all who are entering it, as it has demanded and will demand of you and your courageous people, concentrated effort and intensive devotion to the common cause of vanquishing the enemy and thereafter establishing a just peace.

I take pride in my country's association with you and the great nation which you lead. I am wholly confident that the struggle in which we are engaged in common with other gallant nations will forge stronger the bonds of traditional friendships and will result inevitably in complete elimination of the lawless forces against which your effort, our effort and the efforts of our associates are now individually and collectively directed.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The Common Struggle Against the Axis

A message to the Chinese people at home and abroad, and to the Chinese Army on December 10, 1941, following China's declaration of war on Japan, Germany and Italy.

DECEMBER 10, 1941.

IN OBDURATE pursuit of their evil courses the Japanese have now, in concert with the Axis powers of Europe and in fulfillment of the undertakings laid upon them by the Tripartite Pact, suddenly attacked in dastardly and treacherous fashion our friends Great Britain and the United States, striking with the same piratical rapidity of the raid on Mukden ten years ago. In this way they have brought upon the Pacific the afflictions of war and exposed mankind to unprecedented losses and distress. You will be aware that the Chinese Government has, in the desire to vindicate international justice and preserve human civilization, formally declared war on Japan and at the same time upon Germany and Italy.

Since the invasion of the Northeastern Provinces by the Japanese our whole nation has been undauntedly striving and, during the past four years of war, with resolution and steadfast devotion only the more marked. We set out to chastise the outrageous ambition of the Japanese, recover the territory lost to them, and by bringing about the downfall of this ringleader, check the scourge of aggression. Today the Japanese so far from repenting of their conduct have taken fresh steps toward the fulfillment of the abominable designs they share with the Axis powers. The democratic nations of the two hemispheres have now, however, arisen to act in unison, with the result that the world is divided into two clearly distinguished camps of the aggressors on the one hand and those who oppose them on the other.

Ours was the first country to suffer the inroads of aggression and also the first to assume responsibility for the vital task of putting bounds to the evil. Our faith is firm in the continuity of man's des-

tiny and the indestructibility of his conceptions of equity. Nine-tenths of mankind are striving to defend justice, peace and the right to national freedom. The eventual overthrow of the aggressors is therefore a matter of certainty. Up to now our sacrifices have been made to the end of merely driving the invaders from our own soil. Henceforth we shall be fighting shoulder to shoulder with Great Britain, the United States, Soviet Russia and other friendly nations in a united endeavor to suppress the enemies of civilization and establish lasting peace in the world.

The Chinese people, possessed of their heritage of five thousand years' civilization and the Three People's Principles designed to save both their own nation and the world, are now charged with a mission of unprecedented magnitude. Now our efforts will go beyond the aim of success for resistance and the restoration of our territorial sovereignty and also have the goal of speedy victory for the cause of justice in the world at large. But should our spirit slacken and the enemy be permitted to extend the term of his ill-doing indefinitely we shall fail not only all those who have sacrificed their lives for resistance but also our friends in the common struggle. In this momentous hour I expect of army and people ten times the strength of will displayed during the past years of war in the execution of the sacred duty that is now ours.

Citizens at home and abroad must keep in mind the greatness of the national genius that our sages and heroes have handed down to us and realize the supreme value that victory in resistance will have for the world, and how decisive for the welfare of future generations and of mankind our coming exertions will be. The foundation for victory has been laid, but the task before us is the more arduous in proportion to the vast conflict in which we are now engaged, the scale of the forces with whom we are allied and the immense vista of new significance added to our national fate. Henceforth we must be more severe in our self-respect and take a more serious view of our responsibility, each to the best of his ability and at his particular post of duty, fearless of all hardship and sacrifice and selfless in response to the extreme urgency of the issue that is to be decided.

Fellow-countrymen overseas are no less descendants of Hwang Ti, the progenitor of our race, than those at home, and it is for them wherever they may be to exert their great potential strength for the

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destruction of the common enemy and thereby add luster to the good name of their country. For our soldiers the present occasion makes a unique demand for their resolution and bravery in bringing fruition to the hard-won gains of a decade of warfare. The whole nation must advance with unfaltering determination to avenge the wrongs of this decade and deliver from outrage and injury those under the oppression of the enemy. At home the aim is the preservation of our territorial sovereignty as the primary aim of our resistance: in terms of world affairs we seek to vindicate international justice and win for our nation such renown as it has never enjoyed. From the limited scope of the beginnings of our enterprise we are moving toward the weightier implications of its final development.

Assistance to Friendly Governments

A message addressed to members of the Chinese communities overseas on December 11, 1941.

DECEMBER 11, 1941.

FOR CONVEYANCE BY THE BOARD OF OVERSEAS AFFAIRS, THE COMMISSION FOR THE AFFAIRS OF CHINESE RESIDENTS OVERSEAS, AND ALL EMBASSIES, LEGATIONS AND CONSULATES TO FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN OVERSEAS:

THE Chinese Government has now formally declared war on Japan and at the same time upon Germany and Italy. Henceforth the Chinese Republic will be ranged with all other nations in the world opposed to the aggressors in a common endeavor and resolve to destroy the predatory forces of the German, Italian and Japanese Axis alliance, and thus to gain our one great aim of preserving human civilization. I have already in a previous message set forth in outline the significance attaching to the exertions which our army and people must now make.

At this time of widespread Pacific hostilities I wish however to express my especial concern for you fellow-countrymen overseas and my earnest expectations of those particularly who are living in the territory or possessions of Great Britain, the United States, Australia, the Netherlands East Indies, New Zealand, Canada and other friendly nations.

Our countrymen overseas have rendered highly distinguished service in building the Republic and seconding the work of the Revolution. Their contributions in money and strength to the cause of resistance have been even more considerable. The people of friendly nations have also witnessed the splendid expression and testimony they have given to the traditional spirit of Chinese culture. Today the flames of war envelop the whole globe; the aggressors and those opposing them are divided into clearly and irreconcilably defined camps. An absolute community of interest and attitude now inseparably unites the nations that have set their faces against aggression.

ASSISTANCE TO FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS

Our allies' enemies are our enemies; their victory or defeat will be our victory or defeat. By long years of toil Chinese people overseas have used the rich gifts of their national genius in developing the lands which have become to them as a second homeland and now it is to be hoped of them that they will loyally devote their energies and resources to the assistance of those friendly nations among whom they dwell, striving with all courage and vigor for the destruction of the common enemy and the attainment of final victory. They must throw themselves according to their abilities into all descriptions of war work, undertaking eagerly and without dissent whatever tasks may be allotted them by the governments under whose authority they live. Their efforts may well prove not of less value than the devotion of our soldiers on the battlefields of the Fatherland.

I am confident that all my fellow-countrymen abroad will worthily respond to the hopes of their Fatherland, that they will demonstrate the Chinese zeal for the cause of justice and accomplish the mission that falls to us in this momentous period of human history.

CHIANG CHUNG-CHENG (Chiang Kai-shek)

Increase Our Fighting Strength

An address delivered at the opening of the Ninth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang on December 15, 1941.

DECEMBER 15, 1941.

WE FIND this Session assembled within a few days of the beginning of the Pacific war launched by Japan. Chinese resistance and the world war against aggression have now merged into one conflict. China's position has consequently been very favorably affected. Looking back over the past ten years we recall that China first suffered from the enemy's attack and now after four years of furious combat has at last gained the comradeship of other peace-loving nations in the struggle against aggression. The story is one which is written on a glorious page of our national history. Every member of the Party should appreciate its significance and be inspired thereby. It must not be thought that the Revolution is yet complete or the national future without its perils; on the contrary, the present moment sees the country in the throes of a crisis which it will either survive or perish. If we do not achieve success in our revolutionary work, we shall meet with failure. When we think of our failings in the past and the heroic magnitude of the sacrifices made by our fellow-citizens and soldiers, we must redouble our efforts to continue our struggle that began ten years ago.

The work that faces this Session is of unusual moment. In a spirit of comradeship and with complete sincerity we must take stock of the errors of the past and devise measures of amendment. All outstanding unsolved problems must be given solutions and unfinished tasks carried to completion. At the same time, in relation to the immediate needs during this period of Resistance and Reconstruction there are two points to which our attention must be especially devoted. In the first place, we have to increase our fighting strength to a point that will enable us worthily to play our part as one of the powers fighting shoulder to shoulder against aggression. In the

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second place, a firm foundation for national reconstruction has to be laid. Now is the time to fix our fundamental policy of reconstruction on the basis of the general principles already established. These are two great aims for our work at this Session. We hope to arrive at satisfactory decisions through careful deliberations.

In order to increase our fighting strength it is necessary more fully to develop the total strength of the nation. This total strength may be expressed in the armed forces, in the political, economic, and social life of the country. During the past four and a half years of war, however, the results obtained in the political, economic and social spheres have not been ideal. A searching review of the situation reveals that the spiritual and material strength of the nation remains at least fifty per cent and possibly as much as eighty or ninety per cent undeveloped. Now that we find ourselves allied to other friendly countries in a common cause, it is inconceivable that we should continue in such slackness. Conscious of this, every Party member and citizen should rouse himself to new and more vigorous efforts. The survival of the nation depends upon whether our military, political, economic and social affairs can be directed along modern lines to yield their maximum strength. The modernization of the national life and its adjustment in all respects to wartime needs requires of us all a unanimous revitalization of our revolutionary spirit, and such increased efficiency in our work as shall assure the thorough execution of all the resolutions we shall arrive at here.

In this time of war we must not think to defer reconstruction. The war is for reconstruction, and reconstruction will contribute to our fighting strength. The present period of national awakening is singularly propitious for redoubled efforts in establishing the basis for the political system of the Three People's Principles and the Five Constitutional Rights. We have no immediate duty more important than that of carrying out the fundamental provisions of our policy in reconstruction along the lines laid down in Dr. Sun's Program of Reconstruction and our Program of Resistance and Reconstruction. Everything must be undertaken with a broad consideration of the fundamental issues; this is no time for short-sighted preoccupation with inessential details. On the one hand, we must set about adjusting the functions of existing organizations; on the other,

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we must observe the bearing of the present situation upon the basic policy and system now operative in military, political and economic affairs with a view to instituting necessary reforms. In this connection I have three points to make:

(1) Building up the basis of national strength. This is the most important of the tasks essential to reconstruction. You must all strive to train the people in the exercise of the four political rights in preparation for the institution of popular sovereignty. Progress with the new system of *hsien* (district or county) administration and the introduction of local autonomy to all grades of administrative districts must command your resolute efforts, to the end that after the war the country can proceed immediately to a system of government of the people, for the people and by the people.

(2) Utilizing the country's talented persons. For the purpose of achieving success in Resistance and Reconstruction the Party must draw into collaboration all non-Party men of ability who are loyal to the country and the Three People's Principles. Another point of great importance is the necessity of unifying the source of military and political authority; otherwise, if the attempt is made to assert authority independently of the Central Government the resulting disunity and disorder cannot but be highly injurious to the cause of Resistance and Reconstruction. Disloyalty to nation and people is intolerable in the eyes of every citizen, whether a member of the Party or not. All patriotic and gifted fellow-countrymen, however, are to be sought out and enlisted in the service of the nation. This is one of the indispensable lines of action we have to discuss at this Session.

(3) Carrying total mobilization into a new stage. The Central Government has been promoting General National Mobilization since the war began. The results of four years' work in this respect have not, however, been entirely satisfactory. Now we find ourselves ranged with the other great powers of the world in the struggle against aggression and only determined replenishment of our strength can suffice to meet the great call upon it. How the nation's resources of all kinds are to be developed most effectively and how the social, political and economic standards prevailing in our national life are to be raised to a new level: these are questions this Session has to deal with. China is one of the most ancient, extensive, densely popu-

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lated and potentially rich country in the world. That after four years of resistance she is still so weak and backward is wholly due to our failure to develop our strength and concentrate our human and material resources. With the consolidation of the anti-aggression front, all the nations which compose it will have to achieve not only military co-ordination but also effective sharing and interchange of their human, and particularly, financial and material resources. If we can now exploit the potential resources of our land with foreign technical assistance, we shall certainly be victorious in war and successful in building the strong and healthy new China which was Dr. Sun's ideal.

I trust that this Session will also give its attention to the adjustment of administrative machinery and the simplification of legislation to suit the wartime needs. In those affairs which are the Party's own province we must be still more thorough in weeding out failings and developing our revolutionary spirit of sacrifice and taking all possible progressive measures. All of us here present must concentrate our powers of mind and spirit and decide upon the future policies and administrative procedure governing our program of Resistance and Reconstruction.

A New Outlook and New Efforts

New Year's message broadcast to the Chinese people and army on New Year's Eve, 1941.

DECEMBER 31, 1941.

SINCE the Japanese precipitated war in the Pacific on December 8 Chinese resistance has entered upon a new phase. The war in China has become a part of the world war. Our mission has taken on fresh importance and the duties we have to fulfill will be much heavier. We should have a new sense of cognizance and make new efforts.

But the confidence of our people in the eventual defeat of Japan has been rendered only the more secure. The Japanese adventure in the Pacific may be likened to a draught of poison taken to quench thirst. Their thirst for conquest was so acute that it induced them to drink what they were perfectly well aware was poison. They have thus gained a momentary alleviation of that thirst but the poison will ultimately kill them. The successes of which they are now boasting are that alleviation. Their final destruction will nevertheless inevitably overtake them.

In support of this assertion I wish to make three points. Firstly, the three main policies of the Japanese—their continental policy, their policy of encroachment and dismemberment in China, and their policy of non-participation in the European war—have all been defeated by our resistance. Their national policy having failed there can be no question of their success in war.

Secondly, Japan formerly had but one enemy, China, but now she faces four more: Great Britain, the United States, Australia and the Soviet Union (for the latter being allied to Great Britain is to be considered the enemy of Japan). China on the other hand has acquired as many allies and has entered into the fullest possible collaboration with them. Her strength has been increased more than fourfold. In contrast, moreover, to the impossibility of Japan's direct contact with her allies of the Axis, China enjoys satisfactory means

of maintaining close contact with her allies. Thirdly, the strength of Japan's four enemies, Great Britain, the United States, China and the Soviet Union, far exceeds that of Japan in every respect. The territory of any one of them is ten times greater than Japan's. She would be no match for any one of them individually, not to speak of an alliance of them all.

Though these are the facts the Chinese armies and people should not permit themselves to form too low an estimate of the strength of Japan. There are no good grounds for sanguine expectations of an early victory over her. During the next few months vigorous activity on the part of the Japanese is to be anticipated and bad news may continue to come of the progress of operations in the Pacific. The shadow of Japanese aggression is now looming over the Indian Ocean and in time Burma and India may be threatened or even overrun. It will of course prove no easy undertaking to cut our lines of communication with the outside world as the enemy plans and desires to do, and with the further extension of the fronts on which he fights and the excessive demands upon his manpower involved he will experience greater and greater embarrassment in maintaining his lines of communication and supply and become exposed to the danger of piecemeal destruction at the hands of the allies. Nevertheless we ought to prepare ourselves for the worst possible situation that can arise.

I believe that when a certain stage has been reached the allies will find themselves in a position to inflict overwhelming punishment upon the enemy on the sea and in the air as the preliminary to a decisive rout of his forces on land. This is the hope which we need have no doubt will be fulfilled in due course of time.

We must, however, on no account give ourselves up to optimistic illusions as to the difficulties and perils of the future. "Men help those who help themselves" remains a truth that knows no change. We must endeavor to stand firm upon our own feet and achieve the greatest possible measure of self-sufficiency. Then when unexpected difficulties are encountered we shall not be disconcerted or our success jeopardized. It is only upon a solid foundation built now that success in the future can rest. Such a foundation will not exist unless our society, administration, economy and education are really adapted to the needs of war time, and without it even victory

would be no guarantee of future well-being. Now therefore is the time to renew our spirit and efforts and go forward with perseverance and endurance toward the realization of the Three People's Principles.

I hope that all my fellow-countrymen will strive to render national mobilization more complete and effective, and eliminate all slack conduct, going energetically about all that has to be done, and exercising economy. No man but should be doing something of value to the national war effort and none engaged in activities useless or disadvantageous to it. All our wills and strength should be concentrated and our resources made to yield the maximum of utility to the cause. We must prove worthy of our place in the ranks of the forces fighting aggression and make of China a modern nation. Thus we shall be able to drive out the invaders, overthrow the might of the aggressors, establish the reign of justice and peace in the world, fulfill the hopes of those who have suffered and died for the cause and obey the teachings of Dr. Sun, the Father of the Republic.

I trust that my fellow-countrymen will welcome the New Year with such a resolve and advance with unbounded enthusiasm and faith toward the victory that will assuredly be ours.

Solidarity Between Burma and China

A message to the people of Burma.

TWO years ago I had the pleasure of receiving and talking with members of the Burmese Goodwill Mission to China during their visit in Chungking. I was then deeply impressed with the sincerity of the Burmese people as friends and neighbors while it was realized that co-operation and mutual assistance between our two countries is a matter of prime importance.

Since the conclusion by all peace-loving nations of the world of alliance against their common enemies following the outbreak of the Pacific war, I have had the opportunity of visiting Burma on several occasions as supreme commander directing military operations in the Far East. While in your midst I witnessed with profound admiration the colossal mountains and beautiful rivers as well as the rich resources of various kinds in your beloved land. And above all I found out the many virtues of your people similar to those of my own which will always remind us of the solidarity between your country and mine.

Now that the Japanese militarists have carried their war of aggression into Burma with battles raging on land and sea and in the air, I wish to bring you a message to tell you, my Burmese friends, what I know to be for your own good.

Firstly: China has continued her armed resistance for nearly five years and during this period of time she has been able to hold the enemy at bay while growing stronger in the meantime not because of her possession of superior weapons or extra financial power but owing, first and foremost, to her indomitable spirit of Revolution and abiding faith in Truth.

The Chinese Revolution, which aims at the achievement of China's liberty on the one hand and her equality in the family of nations on the other, has been proceeding unceasingly under the sole guidance and inspiration of the Three Principles of the People as laid down by Sun Yat-sen, Father of our Republic. These three basic

Chinese revolutionary principles are, in English translation, called "Nationalism," "Democracy" and "People's Livelihood."

Promoting Nationalism, China strives for mutual assistance based on Equality among all nations of the world, who are not to be divided into aggressors and victims of aggression. We have thus been working over fifty years for co-operation with all nations treating us as equal partners and at the same time trying to give to the weaker ones in a common struggle against aggression.

In promoting Democracy we stand for the equal status before law of all people in the land, who are not to be divided into oppressors and oppressed but who are to exercise in full measure their rights of Vote, Initiation, Repudiation and Referendum under a true Government of the People.

In promoting, further, the Principle of People's Livelihood we labor for the realization of economic equality of the rank and file by eliminating exploitation while laying the foundation for building up a society of happiness for all through the use of scientific methods in production as well as in distribution.

It is our firm conviction that all the turmoil from which the nations of the world have been suffering is due to lack of a rational solution of their respective questions pertaining to Nationalism, Democracy and the People's Livelihood. It is precisely for this reason that we have been striving all these years for the liberation of China in particular and for the reconstruction of the world order in general by incorporating the ancient Chinese virtues of Loyalty to the State and Filial Piety, Benevolence, Faithfulness and Propriety, and Peace on the one hand and such teachings as "Mending broken lines of the worthy, raising the retired, suppressing disorder, and sustaining those in danger" on the other, in the modern ideas and ideals of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. These fundamental human aspirations are, in our belief, shared by all nations of the world without exception. It may truly be said that from this belief China, as a nation, derives her characteristic strength and courage. I am sure that the people of Burma, with their splendid Buddhist tradition stressing Equality and Compassion, readily understand this spiritual foundation of our nation.

Secondly: we are deeply convinced that Freedom is obtainable only through acquisition of Truth plus vigorous action to let it assert

itself. For this principle millions of our people have martyred themselves during the past fifty years. These revolutionary martyrs have gladly and unhesitatingly offered their lives for supreme sacrifice as their duty as well as a privilege. China, as a matter of fact, owes her present position in the world to the blood of her innumerable sons and daughters who have fought for the nation's freedom instead of waiting for miracles to take place as mere dreamers or opportunists would do.

We are sure that our world can only be emancipated from all things unfair and incompatible with Truth by the united efforts of truth-defending peoples everywhere. All forces opposed to them, however formidable they may be, can never succeed in keeping the tide of Truth from rising in the world or in silencing the call of human conscience when it rises. It is inevitable, in the belief of the Chinese people, that all old forces of Evil will be replaced by the world's new forces of Good. Looking back over our past achievements we gather fresh vigor and courage for carrying forward the Revolution. It is my earnest hope that the people of Burma will from now on march abreast with us fighting for our common victory.

Thirdly: we are equally convinced that this war is by no means like any of the past human conflicts in which a number of strong nations sought military supremacy for themselves. Rather it is one between Right and Might, between Good and Evil. The aggressor and anti-aggression camps are now, more than ever, clearly divided while the eight-point joint declaration made by President Roosevelt of the United States and Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Britain has become the generally accepted basis for the reconstruction of world peace. All those peace-loving and justice-upholding nations who are able to do their share in defeating the Axis will have their own freedom and all that the future world has to give them guaranteed which no one can keep them from getting.

Like individual persons, however, the nations now fighting aggression together have much to learn from the Chinese saying, that "to keep a high purpose in view, one must not allow one's mind to be upset." For, in this war, any nation fallen an easy prey to the enemy's promise of false benefits or to his weight of temporary force in the vain hope of getting to its goal by chance that may be found in the hand of a devil, with no desire to make an effort of its own

for the sake of Truth in pursuit of its cherished freedom, is but like opening its door to the proverbial wolf from whose deadly jaws it will soon find it impossible to escape.

If, for instance, Germany, Italy and Japan whose notorious nationalistic theories place their own peoples as superior to all other races, should win this war and if their so-called new order should ever prevail in the world, it would naturally follow that all other nations will be thrown into enslavement from which they can never expect to emerge. The sad plight of all Frenchmen, Belgians and Poles under German domination today, the Italian tyranny in Abyssinia yesterday, and Japan's cruel and callous treatment of the people of Korea and Formosa in recent decades are too familiar examples to cite.

For many years Japan has employed all conceivable means of treachery in order to subjugate China and during the past five years she has committed every crime of brutality against our people in areas under her military occupation. Having seen and, on the part of many of the less fortunate ones, tasted the lot of peoples under Japanese rule for so long, the Chinese people well know that if a country should ever be completely conquered by the Japanese militarists its people would not as they could not have even a semblance of the freedom as the Burmese people still have today in carrying on their own political activities. It is unimaginable that any thoughtful person could fail to see this point and be deceived by the enemy. Hence, I am confident that leaders of the Burmese people will be able to give serious consideration to this issue and act accordingly.

Chinese troops are now arriving in Burma in increasing numbers and as they continue to fight shoulder to shoulder with our Allied forces it is of imperative importance that they have the sympathy and assistance of the Burmese people.

For more than twenty years I have led the Chinese Army and in training my officers and men I have always emphasized the Three Principles of the People, making sure that soldiers join hands with the civilian population wherever they may go and thus become the armed strength of the people themselves. Our troops are now in your midst for the purpose of helping the Burmese people to put the Japanese invaders out of your borders. They are never to be allowed to do any damage to your civilian property as any acts on their part that

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might inconvenience the people would, in every case, be severely dealt with. It is hoped that you, my Burmese friends, will thoroughly understand the mission of our men fighting on your soil and extend to them your full co-operation.

The Chinese people and the people of Burma are now, like two brothers, bound to help each other. Already we are prepared to receive some of your leading Buddhist scholars coming over as visiting exponents of Buddhism in this country. I trust that you will also appreciate our welcome to students from Burma whose education has been interrupted by war but who can, when they are with us, resume their school life in China enjoying the same privileges as our own boys and girls.

People of Burma: it is your sacred duty to rise now in defense of your beloved fatherland. It is your duty to resist the enemy's intensified operations, giving every possible assistance to the other Allied forces while denouncing with the rest of the world the few who have betrayed the cause of your country by serving the enemy in fifth-column activities.

China is determined, in carrying out the principles in which she holds her faith, to help Burma attain the freedom she deserves after the conclusion of war. To this I call the attention of all the people of Burma.

Chinese and Indians Have the Same Destiny

The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek paid a visit to India in February, 1942. An eye-witness of their arrival in New Delhi said, "Never before had India had the opportunity of greeting so great a statesman, who was yet a man of the people. It was an event, unique and historic." The first speech here is the Generalissimo's reply to the Viceroy's address of welcome at the reception held in the Durbar Hall of the Viceroy's house. The second is his reply to the toast proposed by the Viceroy at the banquet on February 10.

FEBRUARY 9, 1942.

ON BEHALF of the people of China, I wish to thank you for this cordial welcome which you have extended to Madame Chiang and myself. I am happy to have this opportunity of visiting India, one of our allies, and China's brotherly neighbor. The subject of my visit is to have personal exchange of views with Your Excellency, the members of your Government and prominent men in Indian public life in order to secure more effective united efforts against aggression. I fully appreciate the importance of our meeting.

As Your Excellency has pointed out, the spiritual bonds between our two countries are no new development; no mere growth of yesterday. In days almost legendary, Chinese seekers after truth found their way to India after years of perilous travel through arid deserts and over sky-reaching mountains to drink at the inexhaustible fountain of Indian philosophy. They took back to their motherland, in the face of indescribable dangers and difficulties, the priceless volumes which embodied the wisdom of India.

I am appreciative of Your Excellency's reference to the cultural background between the two peoples. Without doubt, it was partly owing to its existence that the Indian nation was moved to express deep sympathy with us from the moment that we began our war of

resistance. The enemy—now the common enemy—tried every expedient to divert that sympathy to himself. India was not misled for a moment. When Japan made perfidious offers of friendship, the illustrious Poet Tagore in noble language voiced the burning indignation which India felt in being asked to grasp in amity a blood-stained hand.

I am further grateful to Your Excellency for the tribute you paid to the Founder of the Republic of China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The principles which he has bequeathed to us have been responsible for the new spirit that has inspired the Chinese people to do their share in making a better world for mankind.

It is now China's turn to show her appreciation of what India has done for her in a realistic way. The extension of the war to the South Pacific has brought the invasion of this country within the realm of possibility. Any attempted attack on India by Japan would have to be through Burma. The threat through Burma was one of the subjects discussed by me and General Sir Archibald Wavell, when he paid his flying visit to Chungking a month ago. An arrangement has already been made for the dispatch of Chinese troops to Burma to assist in its defense. The first steps have thus been jointly taken to safeguard India from a landwise invasion from the east by using Chinese experience and manpower. On the north and east, China is India's shield from land invasion. China is proud and glad that it is so.

Excellency, you have very kindly mentioned that China has been the first to take up arms in this world struggle for freedom. While this is true, I wish to point out that during the last four and a half years of our resistance to aggression, we have been spiritually sustained and materially assisted by His Majesty's Government, and by the people of the British Empire. I bring to Your Excellency, His Majesty's Representative in India, the heartfelt thanks of the Chinese Army and people.

Now that we are comrades-in-arms, standing shoulder to shoulder against aggression, Your Excellency's enlightened leadership constitutes a great contribution to the common cause. At the same time I am fully conscious of the added responsibility that has fallen upon my shoulders. We pledge to our valued ally, who occupies an important and unique position, our friendship and co-operation in at-

taining our common goal which is to defeat aggression and ensure victory for the democratic front.

FEBRUARY 10, 1942.

YOUR EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

YOUR Excellency has done Madame Chiang Kai-shek and myself a signal honor which we deeply appreciate. You have been very generous in your praise of our personal endeavors. In those nearly five strenuous years of which you have spoken our contribution has not been as great as we wished. It is the united people of China, who, true to their ideals, have borne the brunt of the battle for democracy. Since Japan's first invasion of Chinese soil, they have been rising together to higher heights of philosophy, patriotism, unselfishness, courage, endurance, and generosity with but one aim: out of the agonizing sufferings and losses that have been inflicted upon us, there shall arise a new world in which men and women can live in peace and happiness.

Since the outbreak of the Pacific War, China and India have been drawn closer together. In the midst of the trial of war, I have availed myself of the first opportunity to visit India, our ally, in order to get better acquainted with her potentialities and the possibility of her contribution to the joint cause. I am glad that I have come and have learned much during my short stay here. We have a Chinese saying: "To have one look at things is a hundred times more satisfactory than hearsay." I am truly impressed with the greatness of India.

Your Excellency, it is a great pleasure for us to meet you and know you. Your knowledge of Indian affairs is extensive, and your statesmanship is profound. You have made me feel that I may draw without stint upon the richness of your wisdom. Excellency, Lady Linlithgow, your unbounded interest in social work was known to us before our visit. We should like to convey to you our sincere esteem.

You have spoken of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Churchill. Since this great leader assumed office, I have been in as close personal touch as the distance which lies between him and me has permitted, and I have found in him stimulation and encouragement.

CHINESE AND INDIANS HAVE THE SAME DESTINY

Your Excellency has spoken of the presence of Chinese troops in Burma. When I saw General Sir Archibald Wavell in Chungking, I told him that he could count on China's co-operation and assistance in joint resistance against aggression. I have done my best to make this promise good. This is no merit. It is the duty of one ally to another.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now have the honor to propose the health of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow.

A Wartime Way of Life

A radio message to the nation on February 18, 1942, on the eighth anniversary of the founding of the New Life Movement.

FEBRUARY 18, 1942.

I HAVE frequently pointed out that in promoting the New Life Movement my aim has been to have the people lead a life adapted to the demands of war time. A way of life compatible with wartime conditions is necessary to the existence of a nation in present times. Complete national mobilization requires such a way of life. It requires of every citizen a change of attitude and a reform of habits. People of either sex and of all ages, at the front or in the rear, must act as members of one compact and unified fighting body.

Though our nation has been engaged for nearly five years in this War of Resistance complete national mobilization has not yet been achieved. There is still almost as much laxity and negligence to be observed as in normal times. Our society is not yet a wartime society, nor our economy a wartime economy, nor our education wartime education. This is undeniably a great shortcoming in the record of resistance and in that of the New Life Movement. Our war effort will have to be much enlarged in scope and assume a far more vehement character. We must devote ourselves with greater energy to the cause if victory is to be won, our nation rehabilitated and the world liberated.

You must all be aware that modern war is not a mere matter of military operations. It involves the whole strength and all the resources of the nation. Not only soldiers, but also all citizens without exception take part. The latter must conceive the national peril as affecting them personally, must consent to the endurance of all necessary hardships, and must abandon private freedom and satisfaction when discipline and the public interest demand it. Vigor of mind and body must be put at the service of the state. Wealth and resources must be conserved to meet the needs of warfare. An

atmosphere of urgency and vigilance should pervade society. Those in a position to indulge themselves should forego indulgence and those not in such a position should regard indulgence as disreputable.

In a society where this is so, life will conform to the exigencies of war time. That is, the nation's interest will be held supreme and victory will be held the proper goal of all citizens' efforts. The State will exercise its rights of controlling the people's life and restricting their consumption of resources, and the people will fulfill their duty of compliance with this control. In this respect China has formerly been backward. I trust that there will be now a thorough realization of the needs of war time and that citizens will watch over one another in such a way that those whose sense of patriotism is weak may be admonished and guided into better courses.

In December of last year the Ninth Plenary Session of the Central Executive and Supervisory Committee of the Party (Kuo-mintang) approved an "Outline of Provisions for National Mobilization." On the basis of this the Government is soon to issue ordinances with the main object of controlling and developing those human and material resources that have not yet been exploited, of restricting consumption and adjusting production and supply of commodities, and of defining every citizen's war duties. These ordinances must be obeyed by all without attempts at evasion.

I believe that to this end the methods and organization of the New Life Movement may best serve as a basis for informing and guiding the public mind. In this way the Government's enactments can be more effectively put into force, and points which those enactments do not cover will not go unnoticed.

The execution of the scheme of national mobilization will in part be undertaken by the New Life Movement Headquarters, by the responsible heads of Government organizations, teachers in schools and local administrative personnel. The Headquarters has already decided to concentrate in its work this year upon the promotion of national service. This will mean the cultivation of a spirit of mutual helpfulness and encouragement in the task of adjusting national ways of life to the demands of war time. It must not be forgotten that this can only be done by insistence on the moral values of propriety, justice, honesty and integrity. We must endeavor to foster a spirit of hardiness, earnestness and trustworthiness. The weak-minded

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and frivolous, those impatient of trial and trouble, those who lay blame and responsibility upon others, those who are reckless of the success of the national policies and of military exigencies are unfitted to be citizens of a nation at war and are ripe for utilization as tools of the enemy.

Sense of responsibility, respect for discipline, and clarity of moral judgment form the basis of worthy conduct in war time. The struggle must never be absent from our minds. We must be constantly prepared for sacrifices. We must go about all we do with seriousness and alertness. Victory then may be confidently expected and the success of reconstruction may be held assured.

One Half of the World's People

Farewell address to the people of India, on the eve of Generalissimo Chiang's departure for China, read by Madame Chiang and broadcast from the Calcutta station of All India Radio, on February 21, 1942.

FEBRUARY 21, 1942.

DURING my two weeks' stay in India, I have had the opportunity of discussing very frankly with the highest civil and military authorities, as well as with my Indian friends, questions concerning joint plans against aggression and the objective of our common efforts. I am happy to find that there was full sympathy and general understanding between us. My mission is now drawing to a close. On the eve of my departure I wish to bid farewell to all my friends in India and to thank you for the many kindnesses showered upon Madame and myself. The briefness of my stay has not permitted me to tell the Indian people all that I wished to say. I avail myself of this opportunity to address to them the following message. It is the expression of my high and warm regard and long-cherished hopes for India, it comes from the depth of my heart.

Since my arrival in this country I have found to my great satisfaction that there exists among the people of India unanimous determination to oppose aggression. China and India comprise one-half of the world's population. Their common frontier extends to 3,000 kilometers. In the 2,000 years' history of their intercourse, which has been of a purely cultural and commercial character, there has never been an armed conflict. Indeed, nowhere else can one find so long a period of uninterrupted peace between two neighboring countries. This is irrefutable proof that our two peoples are peace-loving by nature.

Today they have not only identical interests but also the same destiny. For this reason they are in duty bound to side with the anti-

aggression countries and fight shoulder to shoulder in order to secure real peace for the whole world.

Moreover, our two peoples have an outstanding virtue in common, namely, the noble spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of justice and righteousness. It is this traditional spirit which should move them to self-negation for the salvation of mankind. It is also this spirit which has prompted China to be the first to take up arms against aggression and, in the present war, to ally herself unhesitatingly with the anti-aggression countries, not merely for the purpose of securing her own freedom, but also for the purpose of securing justice and freedom for all mankind.

I venture to suggest to my brethren, the people of India, that at this most critical moment in the history of civilization our two peoples should exert themselves to the utmost in the cause of freedom for all mankind, for only in a free world could the Chinese and Indian peoples obtain their freedom. Furthermore, should freedom be denied to either China or India, there could be no real peace in the world.

The present international situation divides the world into two camps, the aggression camp and the anti-aggression camp. All those who are opposed to aggression and are striving for the freedom of their country and mankind should join the anti-aggression camp. There is no middle course and there is no time to wait for developments. Now is the crucial moment for the whole future of mankind. The issue before us does not concern the dispute of any one man or country; nor does it concern any specific questions pending between one people and another. Any people therefore which joins the anti-aggression front may be said to co-operate, not with any particular country, but with the entire front.

This leads us to believe that the Pacific war is a turning point in the history of nationalism. The method, however, by which the peoples of the world could attain their freedom might be different from what it used to be. The anti-aggression nations now expect that in this new era the people of India should voluntarily bear their full share of responsibility in the present struggle for the survival of a free world in which India must play a part. A vast majority of the world's opinion is in full sympathy with India's aspiration for freedom. This sympathy, which is so valuable and so difficult to

obtain, cannot be appraised in terms of money or material and should therefore by all means be retained.

The present struggle is one between freedom and slavery, between light and darkness, between good and evil, between resistance and aggression. Should the anti-aggression front lose the war, the civilization of the world would suffer a setback for at least a hundred years and there would be no end to human sufferings.

So far as Asia is concerned, the cruelties committed by Japanese militarists are beyond description. The sufferings and oppression which have been the fate of Formosans and Koreans since their subjugation by Japan should serve as a warning. As regards the barbarities committed by the Japanese army since our War of Resistance, the fall of Nanking in December, 1937, is a case in point. Over 200,000 civilians were massacred within one week. For the last five years the civilian population in free China have been subjected, almost daily, to bombings from the air and bombardment by heavy artillery. In every place invaded by the Japanese troops, men, women and children were either assaulted or killed. Young men and educated people received their special attention with the result that men of intelligence and ideas have been tortured. Nor is this all. Institutions of culture, objects of historical interest and value, and even articles necessary for livelihood, such as cooking utensils, plows, tools and domestic animals have been either forcibly taken away or destroyed. In places under Japanese military occupation rape, rapine, incendiarism and murder are of frequent occurrence. Moreover, they have with official connivance everywhere opened opium dens, gambling houses and houses of ill-fame in order to sap the vitality of the people and destroy their spirit. Such is the disgraceful conduct of the Japanese, the like of which is not to be found in countries invaded by the other aggressor nations. What I have just said is but an inadequate description of the true state of affairs as reported by Chinese and foreign eyewitnesses.

In these horrible times of savagery and brute force the people of China and their brethren, the people of India, should, for the sake of civilization and human freedom, give their united support to the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter and in the joint declaration of 26 nations and ally themselves with the anti-aggression front. I hope they will wholeheartedly join the Allies, namely,

ONE HALF OF THE WORLD'S PEOPLE

China, Great Britain, America and the Soviet Union, and participate shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for the survival of a free world until complete victory is achieved and the duties incumbent upon them in these troubled times have been fully discharged.

Lastly, I sincerely hope, and I confidently believe, that our ally, Great Britain, without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India, will as speedily as possible give them real political power so that they may be in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength and thus realize that their participation in the war is not merely an aid to the anti-aggression nations for securing victory, but also a turning point in their struggle for India's freedom. From an objective point of view, I am of the opinion that this would be the wisest policy which will redound to the credit of the British Empire.

To the Flying Tigers, Salute

Upon their return from India and Burma, Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek gave a dinner in Kunming on February 28, 1942, in honor of the American Volunteer Group of the Chinese Air Force. Speeches made by the Generalissimo, Colonel Claire L. Chennault, commanding officer of the A. V. G., and Madame Chiang are reproduced herewith in that order.

FEBRUARY 28, 1942.

COLONEL CHENNAULT, OFFICERS AND MEN:

TO BE with you American Volunteers here today, to observe your excellent spirit and hear of your achievements fills me with delight and admiration. The American Volunteer Group of the Chinese Air Force has acquired a world-wide reputation for greatest courage.

It is three months since the Japanese, our common enemy, picked their quarrel with Great Britain and the United States. The splendid victories the Volunteer Group has won in the air are a glory that belongs to China and our ally America alike.

I have already communicated the news of your repeated successes to your government and President Roosevelt. The record of what you have done shows that every one of you has been a match for thirty or more of the enemy. Your friends and relations will undoubtedly have felt boundless pride and elation to hear of your exploits.

The blows you have struck at the Japanese have put you in the forefront of the Allied forces fighting the aggressor. You have established a firm foundation of the campaign against his lawlessness which China and America are united to wage. You have written in the history of this world war a remarkable page the memory of which will live in our minds forever.

As the Supreme Commander of the Allied forces operating in the China theater of war, I am entertaining you today as my comrades-

TO THE FLYING TIGERS, SALUTE

in-arms and on behalf of my four hundred and fifty million fellow-countrymen I salute you, confident that you will continue, together with all the Allied forces in Burma, to display your valor until final victory is won over our common enemy.

Since you are under my command, I wish to impress upon you your identity with all the other men serving in the Chinese armed forces; your lives are one with theirs and mine; your good name is one with theirs and mine. I act toward you as I act toward other members of the Chinese Air Force. I shall extend to those of your comrades who have given their lives the same marks of distinction and the same care for their families and children. For this I hold myself responsible. I trust that you will perform your duties free from any anxiety on this score. Your task is great. When victory is ours I hope to celebrate together with you our successful issue of the war in Tokyo.

COLONEL CHENNAULT'S RESPONSE.

MEMBERS OF THE A. V. G.:

NEVER before in history do I know of any military unit such as ours having been accorded the honor such as comes to us tonight. No matter how many decorations we may have bestowed on us in the future I am sure we will never receive more honor than we have received tonight. For five years I have followed the Generalissimo to the best of my ability and I know him to be a leader of the highest principles and greatest determination. He is a leader who prefers death to compromise. He is a leader, not only of China, but of the entire Allied effort. It is easy for us Americans to follow such a leader.

In addition to Madame Chiang's work in aviation she is also the leader of all the women in China. The orphans and widows of China come to her either directly or through the agencies which she has set up and all receive aid. To me, she is the mother of China.

During this time millions of Chinese soldiers have gone to the fronts and have been killed and seriously wounded. Orphans have been left in the ruins of their homes and in the fields. All of these needed aid and they have been given that aid as rapidly as possible. And now there will be thousands more to feed and educate, to receive medical attention.

One problem, of course, is to provide the money for this. It

takes money to do all these things, probably less in China than elsewhere but even in China money is needed to buy these things. Madame Chiang's generosity is boundless. Her shoulders are always willing to take on additional burdens, but if money is lacking to provide the necessities her work must suffer. I would be unable to recite all that Madame Chiang has accomplished; however, one thing I have not yet mentioned. When the organization of this Group was first discussed in America I was asked for recommendations as to how it would be handled in China. The first thing that I insisted upon was that Madame Chiang should act as our chief staff officer, that Madame Chiang should serve as liaison staff officer between the Generalissimo and the Group. And although she has hundreds of activities that require a great deal of her time she consented to this because of her eagerness for China to have effective military aviation. So even though you are unconscious of the fact, Madame Chiang has been Honorary Group Commander and Staff Officer of this Group since its organization and I would like to present her tonight as our Honorary Group Commander.

MADAME CHIANG'S SPEECH.

COLONEL CHENNAULT, MEMBERS OF THE A. V. G. AND OTHER FRIENDS:

AS YOUR Honorary Commander may I call you my boys? You have flown across the Pacific in China's gravest hour on wings of hope and faith. For this reason not only does the Chinese Air Force but the entire Chinese nation welcome you with outstretched arms. The Generalissimo has already spoken to you of the fine and brave deeds you have done and he has called the A. V. G. the world's bravest air force.

I am very proud tonight that I have had a little share in making it possible for you to fight for China. When I think of the life-and-death struggle which China has passed through these last five years I have before my mind's eye the millions of our people who have been killed or wounded and others who had to flee from Japanese cannon, machine guns and bombers. I also see the rivers of blood which have flowed over our territory, the very life blood of China's fairest manhood. I think of the tens of thousands of our women whose honor has been violated by the Japanese and the hundreds of thousands of our little children who have been killed and

TO THE FLYING TIGERS, SALUTE

mained or else taken to Japan to be trained as traitors to their motherland.

And now you have come here to vindicate us. We have always been resolved to fight until final victory is ours but we lack the air arm which you are now providing. You have come to fight side by side with us. For this I wish to express our heartfelt thanks.

Colonel Chennault has taken an active part in Chinese resistance during the last five years. You boys know him personally. You know what an admirable commander he is and how very selfless. The only complaint I have against him is that he is never satisfied with his own work. I venture to say, too, that he also thinks that you ought to have more work regardless of how much you already have.

Colonel Chennault has just introduced me as Honorary Commander of the A. V. G. I think I am prouder of this title than any other title I've had, because I know that you are not only fighting with your bodies and your skill, you are fighting with your hearts and spirits. Just now Colonel Chennault brought to me two of your very fine comrades who have braved death today in the air. They forgot themselves entirely while fighting the enemy because they knew that, although they might have to make the final sacrifice, their comrades would carry on the great work which the A. V. G. has set for itself. This spirit, I feel, is the secret of the A. V. G.'s successes.

I was asked a little while ago by one of my officers, "Madame Chiang, some of the A. V. G. pilots are shooting down so many planes that we won't have room enough on the wings for all the stars which they merit. What shall we do about it?" I told him, "We shall have to provide them with an additional pair of wings." And that is what we will have to do if you all keep up the score.

Although you are here in China I am sure often your minds and your hearts fly back to your loved ones in America, and for this reason I am glad that America is now realizing that China is not fighting for China alone but for America and for the whole world. You, in giving the best that is in you, are doing it for your own country as well as for China. Time and again your Commanding Officer has dinned into your ears the necessity for discipline. Hateful word, isn't it? Discipline in the air, discipline on the field, and yet without discipline we can accomplish nothing and I, as your Honorary Commanding Officer, am going to din more discipline into you.

TO THE FLYING TIGERS, SALUTE

I would go further than Colonel Chennault. I mean the discipline of your inner selves. It isn't enough to observe discipline only. We must have inner discipline so that we may have fully developed characters. However, I am not trying to make you little plaster saints and I am quite human enough to like interesting people, but I do want you boys to remember one thing: the whole of the Chinese nation has taken you to its heart and I want you to conduct yourselves in a manner worthy of the great traditions that you have built up. I want you to leave an impression on my people, a true impress of what Americans really are. I trust and I know that you will act worthily wherever you are in China.

Forgive me for speaking to you like that. Perhaps I should be very polite and say, "Boys, you are just grand. You are little angels with or without wings." But you are my boys. I can speak to you freely. I know that you will understand when I say that I hope every one of you, whether in the air or on the ground, will remember that you are China's guests and that everything you do will reflect credit upon the country which I love next to my own, America, where as you know I was educated and which I always look upon as my second home.

Colonel Chennault just now said something which rather embarrassed me. He spoke to you about my needing money to carry on relief work. I know that money is necessary, Colonel, but I don't want to rope you boys in tonight for this purpose. If I had this dinner would be very hard to digest so I didn't do that, but I do want to thank you for what you voluntarily contributed to the war orphans during Christmas. Please don't feel that you have to contribute now, that's one thing I beg of you.

Just one final word. War is not only a matter of equipment, artillery, ground troops or air force; it is largely a matter of spirit, or morale. When I came into this room I felt at once how very keyed-up you are. Now that you have been fighting for a few months you are full of enthusiasm and pep. That is a good thing, but the greater thing is to gather momentum as each day goes by and not let yourself be discouraged no matter what happens, because as you soar into the skies you are writing in letters of flame on the horizon certain eternal truths for the world to see: First, the indomitable courage of the Chinese people; Second, the indestructible spirit of the Chinese

TO THE FLYING TIGERS, SALUTE

Army; and Third, the deathless soul of the Chinese nation. And so, whatever you do, wherever you are, remember that such is the China which you have come to assist.

I would like all of you to get up and drink a toast to the two great sister nations facing each other across the Pacific. They now have a bond of friendship and sympathy which serves us well in the crucible of war and which will serve us equally when victory has been won.

The Duties of a Vanguard

A message broadcast to the whole nation on March 12, 1942, on the third anniversary of the Spiritual Mobilization Movement.

MARCH 12, 1942.

THREE years have passed since the Program of Spiritual Mobilization was issued. During these three years the nation has passed through many difficulties and immense changes have taken place in the international situation. By their resolute and tenacious resistance to the aggressor the Chinese people have caused the world to hail their spirit as a citadel of world peace and the enemy to realize the moral strength of that spirit as inviolable. Since the outbreak of war in the Pacific, China has no longer been resisting the Japanese single-handed; she is now fighting shoulder to shoulder with all those other nations opposing the aggressors as her allies. She has become the sole base of Allied operations in Asia, our responsibility has accordingly grown more onerous, and our task more difficult. Apart from our responsibility for the future of our own nation, we are now charged with the mission of preserving human civilization and international justice. The spectacle of China's indefatigable and unflinching resistance has inspired the other nations allied against aggression with faith in their cause and stimulated the morale of all the countries of the democratic bloc. It is therefore more important than ever before that we should exert ourselves and rid our conduct of all indolence and negligence, which may now damage the interests of our allies as well as bring irretrievable ruin upon unborn generations of our own people. In initiating the struggle against the aggressors we assumed the duties of a vanguard, and we must continue to stand with rock-like firmness in the flow of world events. Such must be our present thought and purpose.

On New Year's Day I uttered a warning: "During the next few months vigorous activity on the part of the Japanese is to be anti-

cipated and bad news may continue to come of the progress of operations in the Pacific. We must prepare ourselves for the worst possible situation that can arise. The shadow of Japanese aggression is now looming over the Indian Ocean and in time Burma and India may be threatened or even overrun." I made this prediction because whereas the Japanese had been preparing and planning for over twenty years to carve up the resources of the Pacific, the friendly countries concerned, having pursued a policy of peace and good faith, found themselves off their guard and were bound to suffer initial reverses as a result. On the same occasion I explained: "We shall have to wait until, with the further extension of the fronts on which the enemy is fighting and the excessive demands upon his manpower involved, he experiences such embarrassment in maintaining his lines of communication that he is exposed to the danger of piecemeal destruction at the hands of the Allies. Then they will be in a position to inflict overwhelming punishment upon him and finally rout him decisively." That time is now rapidly drawing near, and the collapse of the enemy will soon begin.

The history of past wars is full of examples of early successes won by those who are disastrously defeated in the end. At the present time four of the largest nations in the world, China, America, Britain, and Soviet Russia are united in an alliance absolutely superior in resources of men and material to the Axis bloc. Our enemy has taken the evil course to make us his slaves; we for our part have made our aim the freedom and equality of status for our people. On his side the motive is self-seeking; on ours it is justice. Justice is always triumphant over greed. We must realize that for all his overbearing outward manner the enemy is inwardly disheartened, only because he knows he is making war without any just or upright cause. The more territory his soldiers seize the remoter seems the final goal of their campaign. If this is understood it will be realized that it is only natural for the enemy to make desperate or risky moves in his conduct of the war, but both the spiritual and material factors involved ensure his final defeat. With us time is of more importance than space, and at present it is for us to stand firm and steel our hearts to endure.

Let us now review the activities of the Spiritual Mobilization Movement during the past three years and ascertain to what degree

they have come up to the standards we set ourselves. Have we done all possible to make up for our material handicaps? To what extent have we achieved a distribution of our resources suited to wartime needs? Many difficulties have certainly been overcome through the development of our national spirit, but we have yet to go far in developing it to the utmost. This national spirit has been formed through the care and teaching of sages and philosophers throughout the five thousands years of our history; it has penetrated so deeply into the life of our people that its strength is now like the irresistible flow of a great river. We must now employ this strength in generating and conserving material power. During the past five years of war the international status of our country has been steadily improving; now we must strive further to exploit our strong points and remedy our weak points. Dr. Sun often emphasized the fact that an effective use of weapons depends far more upon the spirit with which men fight than upon the quality of the weapons. In making use of our material resources we must adopt an ordered and organized process, and in rendering our work efficient discipline and morale are the most essential factors. Spiritual mobilization is therefore the most urgent side of the actual prosecution of the war.

In the first place, we must give full play to our national tradition of inflexible resolution, which in the course of our history has produced so many glorious examples of devotion and courage and called forth the admiration of the world. This is a spirit of humility in time of success and fortitude in the hour of failure. We shall be shaken by nothing if we can maintain such a determination springing from inward conviction, making it the center for the concentration of our will and strength. We shall be prepared to do our whole duty in Resistance and Reconstruction in this vital stage of the war if we continue to manifest the ethical ideals that are our national heritage. China is called upon to furnish the world with a pillar of rectitude founded upon those ideals, the philosophic basis for which our educationalists should interpret and stress in the teaching of the young. They must bring to the fore the historical continuity of Chinese ethical doctrines and the robust and independent view of life expressed therein. I have already pointed out to youth its obligation to carry forward the cultural movement based upon the

Three People's Principles for the purpose of initiating the philosophy of national independence and developing the positive spirit of national reconstruction. In the fifth paragraph of the Program of Spiritual Mobilization allusion is made to the need for a spirit of resilient and positive vitality. In educating the young every effort must be made to guard against tendencies to reckless, irrational and abandoned conduct and to cultivate a selfless patriotism and public-spiritedness. Haphazard and slothful habits of thought and life are to be displaced by preciseness and self-reliance. In this way we shall be applying our national philosophy to the actual needs of our time.

In the second place we must develop the scientific side of national defense. As the existence of the nation depends upon defense, so does defense also depend upon science. We are nationally handicapped by our inadequate material provision for defense, and the chief reason for this is to be found in the small use we have made of scientific technique. Here the Movement has a remedy to offer; it provides for the mobilization of national ability for the purposes of research and investigation into scientific means of warfare. Modern weapons are constantly being improved upon and fresh devices to meet them are progressively discovered. Arms for attacking tanks, contrivances for protection against magnetic mines, detector apparatus in air defense are all proof of the great part played in modern warfare by the inventive brains of scientists. It is imperatively necessary that our scientists and scientific strength should be mobilized and put at the disposal of the nation—at work, for instance, in devising substitutes for materials of which there is at present a lack. In the schools and throughout society we need the spread of scientific knowledge and technique, the increase of production by improved methods of production, and rapid measures of industrialization.

In the third place, we must make increased use of the competitive stimulus in encouraging rationalization and higher efficiency in production. However, the mere principles of division of labor and co-operation are not sufficient to ensure a satisfactory degree of success. A still more important condition is the development of an enthusiastic working spirit, good organization and efficient management. If the spirit cultivated is one of willingness good organi-

zation will follow naturally, and efficient management will come with good organization. These things mean the fullest possible employment of each man's energy and the fullest possible utilization of all resources, and to this end every man must be animated by a conscious and voluntary working spirit. I believe that the competitive principle is invaluable in stimulating such a spirit. In our ordinary everyday work we often feel too easily satisfied with our own standard, but in a competition satisfaction comes only with the greatest possible effort to outdo others and the standard is set by the best worker. In all branches of human activity throughout the world the motive for the intense devotion displayed in training and work usually comes from competition. We shall do best to introduce this element of competition into our endeavors in order to cultivate in all citizens a whole-hearted, unselfish, vigorous and joyful devotion to work.

In the fourth place, as a part of our preparation to wage a long-protracted war and cope with the worst possible of circumstances, we must put ourselves in readiness to encounter even greater hardships in days to come, for the world war in which we are now taking part has only just begun. We must on the one hand do all we can to expand production, and on the other restrict consumption. We must think of the great value which things not consumed by the individual can have if they are utilized for the purposes of Resistance and Reconstruction, and derive from this reflection a spiritual recompense for the material loss. In ancient times frugal living was associated with filial piety as a virtue. Now it is the nation which is the highest object of our loyalty or filial duty. Our country is one of great and rich natural resources and, if the most is made of them we shall find them fully sufficient for all our needs in time of war and peace. The guiding principle of our conduct must now be the exhaustive and effective employment of our human and material resources, for which the practice of thrift is one essential condition. The maximum effort in this direction will ensure us all against excessive deprivations.

I am sure that if we act on the four points I have here suggested we shall prove equal to all the difficulties we may encounter through the complete mobilization of our national strength, and especially of our spiritual strength. Let us entertain not the slightest

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doubt that we shall thus be able to drive out the enemy and establish a free and independent country. At the same time our own high morale will exercise a good influence over that of our allies, to the benefit of the common cause for which we are fighting. We shall do well now to think of our task as world salvation, rather than merely the salvation of our country. In spiritual mobilization is to be fulfilled this sacred mission.

Strike the Enemy from Every Vantage Point

*A message to the people of Australia sent around
March 20, 1942.*

MARCH 20, 1942.

WHEN the enemy is on the very threshold of Australia, my thoughts are engaged not only by consideration of sacrifice and trials which you people will be called upon to endure; I think also of the lasting contribution which they are now in a position to make toward the vindication of the Allied cause. The task before you is difficult and your responsibility is tremendous. Not only will you be defending your own homes and hearths against a ruthless and powerful enemy you will also be charged with the arduous duty of overcoming the enemy's attempts to consolidate his gains and cut the communications of the United Nations.

I am confident, however, that Australians, who have distinguished themselves on many battlefields, will prove equal to the task. Do not let what the United Nations have failed thus far to achieve in other theaters of the war be a source of dismay to you. The earlier reverses should arouse in you as well as in the other United Nations a fierce determination and greater efforts. Experience has taught us that in resisting the Japanese who, even today, possess superior armaments, the people must be thoroughly organized and trained, not only for facing the shock tactics of the enemy without yielding ground, but also for striking and embarrassing the enemy from every point of vantage. This calls for daring, co-ordination, ingenuity and endurance, but I am certain our Australian comrades possess these qualities in abundance.

In the hours of stress, it is well to remember that the enemy is fighting not only against the combined forces of the United Nations but also against his most formidable foe—time. Every hour and every inch of ground denied the enemy is an achievement worthy of all the efforts and sacrifices that it demands.

STRIKE THE ENEMY FROM EVERY VANTAGE POINT

In your bitter struggle against our common enemy, the entire Chinese nation will be wholeheartedly with you and I am confident that Australia will jealously guard her fine traditions and her people will fight as they have never fought before. I am confident that Australia will do more to act up to the important position which she holds today in the anti-aggression front.

Of Man and Material

A broadcast address on National Mobilization Act delivered on May 4, 1942, the eve of the anniversary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's assumption of the Presidency of the Emergency Republican Government.

MAY 4, 1942.

ON MARCH 29 the Government promulgated the National Mobilization Act, which is to be put into effect from tomorrow, May 5th. In promulgating this Act on the Huanghuakang Revolutionary Martyr's Day the intention was to call upon citizens to emulate their spirit of sacrifice in the service of the cause of national rebirth. Likewise the Act is to go into effect on the anniversary of the day Dr. Sun became the President of the Emergency Republican Government. This will form a commemoration of Dr. Sun's spirit of endeavor since it will mark the beginning of greater strivings on our part to complete the tasks of Resistance and Reconstruction. I solemnly express my hope that you will all realize this point and accordingly regard this Mobilization Act as something sacred, and support the Government to the full in implementing it.

In speaking of the key to the success of the revolution and national salvation, Dr. Sun used two phrases, "offer abilities" and "sacrifice freedom." The present Act requires of citizens that they should offer their abilities to the State and sacrifice individual freedom for the protection of our national freedom and the freedom of humanity. The modern world is one wherein every nation has to develop the strength of which its citizens are capable. The independent status of the individual, his thoughts and actions becomes a thing of the past. Only a fighting nation can make itself responsible for world peace, and such a nation must organize its material resources and manpower with the highest possible degree of efficiency. The present Act is legislation essential for the preservation of a modern nation's existence. Its provisions consist of what are the elementary duties of a citizen toward his country in modern times.

OF MAN AND MATERIAL

The extent to which it can successfully be put into effect will decide whether our nation can continue to exist in the modern world and whether we are qualified to stand alongside other nations in it.

Resistance has been going on for nearly five years. This means that we have been fighting for the independence and freedom of our country, and at the same time for international justice and freedom. Our one single-handed struggle has now become a part of a world-wide campaign against aggression. The manifesto of the twenty-six nations that appeared on New Year's Day is the expression of our common faith and the aim of our war effort. The war has spread to five oceans and five continents and the whole world has become the scene of a tremendous duel. The casualties and suffering involved have exceeded all bounds. We must completely destroy this menace of aggression and provide a sound foundation for world peace before true victory can be said to have been won. Only thus can freedom be assured unborn generations of our race. We must prepare for the prolongation of the war and for greater difficulties in the future. We must build up the machinery for the mobilization of our resources and bring into fuller play all the strength of mind and body, of matter and money, at our disposal. Every person must realize that what he is called upon to give is to be put at the service of the nation, of the world and of the civilization and well-being of humanity. The least we can expect of ourselves is that we should not prove unworthy of our allies. We ought to exert ourselves with greater self-denial and diligence than heretofore and develop the potential strength of our land in an efficient manner. To this end all must unanimously help to carry this Act into practice.

The legislative content of the Act is much the same as that of similar measures in other countries. There is however one peculiar feature. With us it is not only an instrument of national policy but an expression of the popular will of our nation. At the beginning of the second year of resistance the Program of Resistance and Reconstruction was published, as a framework for wartime measures and conduct. The principles and spirit of that program form the basis of the present Act which, it may be said, is a concrete and codified application of its sense. Citizens will henceforth be clearer as to the efforts required of the individual and the

restrictions necessary for concentration of our will and uniformity of our actions. Another aspect of the matter is that whereas we are fighting to defend ourselves and from our sense of justice, on the opposing side men are being exploited in the service of their masters' plans of aggression. With us the will of the Chinese people has demanded the action the nation is taking in order to put itself on a war footing in the defense of its existence. Public opinion, the discussions of experts, the proposals of representative bodies have always shown support for the control and management of the country's resources, and criticism has been directed only at deficiencies and loopholes in such control and management. The public has displayed a general readiness to endure hardships without complaint and to sacrifice without hesitation. We may therefore confidently declare that this Act is an expression of the patriotic determination of the nation to defend itself. If the administrative departments concerned go about the work energetically a few selfish degenerates among us will have no power to obstruct its success or evade its provisions. The Government will have to exercise the strictest supervision and make detailed allowance for all the exigencies of the situation. Separate enactments will have progressively to be devised as the need for them arises, and existing regulations will have to be adjusted to conform to the central principles of the Act. Supplies for the front must be assured and the livelihood of the people in the rear stabilized if we are to keep up our war effort until final victory is attained.

Though this Act has not been promulgated until now we have long been carrying out mobilization on a large scale in all departments of national life. The control of production, the restriction of consumption, the adjustment of commodity supply, the stabilization of prices, the management of finance, the enlistment of labor, intellect, and technical skill—all this has been undertaken by the Government and been done with the spontaneous assent of the people. However in the past action in this direction has been partial and fragmentary, and insufficiently thoroughgoing and widespread. With this Act there will come about a legalization and systematization of all these activities. No individual will be an exception to its provisions. At this critical moment in the history of our country there should be no citizen whose conscience and instincts permit

him to attempt evasion of the law. The duties that this Act clearly lays down as the wartime obligations of the people consist on the one hand in the positive requirements it makes of every man and on the other hand in the restrictions and prohibitions it imposes upon him. Provided there is positive observance of the law and fulfillment of the tasks defined by it the Government will protect and reward the citizen. Behavior in a contrary sense however will mark him down as a degenerate element devoid of the qualifications for citizenship in a modern nation, and the Government will penalize him, and society will reject him accordingly. On New Year's Day I declared to the nation: "If we continue in remiss and negligent conduct, if our society cannot be made a wartime society, our administration a wartime administration, and our economy a wartime economy, if the general life of our people cannot be made to conform to the needs of war time, not only will there be no hope of victory but there will even be no place for our country in the world of the future."

It was my hope at that time that every citizen, among industrial and agricultural workers alike, would make up his mind to be a citizen beneficial to his country, or at least one in no way injurious to his country's interests. In fact, victory will require much more of us than the avoidance of action disadvantageous to the conduct of the war. It demands that every man shall do his full duty at whatever post is his. The promulgation of this Act will make clear to all their path of effort in the service of this country.

The provisions of the Act are expressed in a perfectly clear-cut manner. I need not go into them in detail. I trust that you will all recognize the importance of the legal character of this Act and faithfully observe the following points:

1. There must be energetic determination to obey it exhaustively to the exclusion of all evasion and disguised intentions of evasion. All laws require the willing and sincere obedience of the citizen for them to take full effect. Our ability to practice such obedience will decide the issue of this war and the fate of our nation.

2. The act must be clearly interpreted, for in view of the not uniform level of intelligence among our people there may be difficulty in understanding its provisions. Therefore the well-educated,

those in positions of authority and leadership in society, and local officials of all ranks should take full advantage of opportunities of conveying to the people the sense of the law at public meetings. They should impress upon the public the full scope of the citizen's responsibility, for only thus can there be all-prevailing observance of the law.

3. There must be assistance lent the Government in the work of applying the Act. However comprehensive the wording of the law and however great the efforts of the administration, localities are bound to remain beyond the direct influence of the Government. It will be necessary for citizens to stimulate and keep watch over each other and discountenance all conduct detrimental and unfaithful to the Act. There must be straightforward and loyal response to the Government's demands and pressure brought to bear on all those who attempt to trifle with the law.

4. In all walks of life there should be organized endeavor to allow of full play for the predominantly economic influence of the Act, which is aimed at the development of resources and efficiency of production. Trade and professional organizations are needed for this purpose. It is to be hoped that citizens engaged in production, transport and commerce will enthusiastically participate in such organizations and lend their collective energies toward the implementation of the Act. This is essential not only for the success of resistance but also for our advance toward the status of a modern nation.

Resistance has now entered upon a crucial period. The Government must summon up the fullest possible resolution to give complete effect to the national policies and this Act, in order that the whole nation may be transformed into one solid fighting unit. You must bestir yourselves to restrict consumption and intensify production, and put all resources of labor, skill and knowledge at the disposal of the nation and the war. The story of our generation will thus be a glorious one. I appeal to my fellow-countrymen today to form a high resolve to mobilize their strength for the purpose of establishing the foundations of a modern state, gaining for all Chinese citizens the status of citizens of such a state, and carrying to a successful issue the mission that is ours.

Morale Plus Equipment

A message broadcast to the United States on May 31, 1942, at the invitation of the U. S. War Department. It was read from Chungking by Madame Chiang Kai-shek, who added a statement of her own.

MAY 31, 1942.

MADAME Chiang and I have gladly accepted the invitation of the War Department to send greetings to you, the American people.

As I am speaking, bloody battles are being waged in the east, north, south, and southwest of China. In these areas, Japanese planes have been daily relentlessly bombing our army which has been gallantly fighting without air protection.

For five years China has stood up against Japan. We have fought with inferior equipment and with little more than bare flesh, for we only produce small arms, the reason being that since the Revolution we had not had the time nor the means to build up heavy industries. We lacked airplanes, artillery and tanks.

What has sustained us and made it possible for us to continue resistance has been the adoption of what I might term magnetic strategy which consists in attracting the enemy to the interior, bog him there, and hold him at bay by the more vital factor of morale. As a realist, I must point out, however, that morale, important as it is, is not sufficient in itself to win decisive and final victory. It must be supplemented by mechanized equipment. Mechanized equipment by itself, however, is futile. Morale and equipment combined spell final victory. This truth can readily be seen when we consider how much the American Volunteer Group of the Chinese Air Force has been able to help us in spite of its slender resources. As Commander-in-Chief of the China theater of war, I pledge you my word that given ten per cent of the equipment you produce in America, the Chinese Army will reap for you 100 per cent of the desired result.

In looking toward the future I would like every one of my

listeners to realize that our Chinese people are convinced that the principles enunciated in the Atlantic Charter are not vague assurances and empty diplomatic phraseology, but that they are the underlying convictions to which the peace-loving people of America are dedicated. To my mind these principles should be applied not only to America and Europe but also to all peoples and races, so that freedom, justice, and equality may reign the world over.

For all the sympathy and support, both moral and material, which the Government and people of America under the leadership of President Roosevelt have given us throughout these five years of resistance, we wish to express our heartfelt appreciation.

MADAME CHIANG'S SPEECH.

YOU have just heard the Generalissimo's reaffirmation that in spite of the long years of war our conviction in ultimate victory is stronger than ever. I have one more word which I would like to utilize by pointing out to you an insidious example of enemy propaganda which has just come to my attention, and which I hope deceived no one. The plot is to sow dissension between us by announcing that China has plenty of arms and is now stalemating because she depends on America to win the war for her. I need not tell you that this is a malicious lie, fathered by those who wish to undermine our friendship. China has always proved loyal and will continue to fulfill her obligations. In the past she has never hesitated to divert her entire resources to the common cause. She does not hesitate now, nor will she hesitate in the future.

China has survived all kinds of wars because she has consistently adhered to certain moral principles. Those principles preclude her acting otherwise than in an honorable manner. The enemy has repeatedly made offers of peace to China and sought to assure her that the Western Democracies were making use of her as a tool, whereas, Japan would co-operate with and consider her as an equal. The fact that we have unhesitatingly rejected those offers is proof positive that we have implicit faith in America's sincerity. We know that you are equally certain of China's sincerity. In oneness of purpose, in devotion to a common cause and co-operation, therefore, let us march forward, shoulder to shoulder, beneath the flaming banner of freedom to sure victory.

The Importance of Food Policy in Wartime

An address delivered at the National Food Administration Conference on June 2, 1942.

JUNE 2, 1942.

THIS conference affords me an invaluable opportunity of putting before you my views on questions of food administration, my impressions of the work done last year and my expectations regarding the future.

It was a happy circumstance that this conference commenced its deliberations at a time of abundant and timely rainfall as a result of which a rich harvest may confidently be anticipated. This may be called assistance heaven has lent our cause. At the same time our allies, and in particular the United States of America, have recently extended to us increasing supplies of arms and economic aid. This is assistance we have had of men. We must now see to it that we do all we can to help ourselves. In regard to the numerous offensives the enemy is now conducting, of which that in western Chekiang is on the largest scale, I would only remark that no matter where he strikes he will make no cheap gains and whatever local successes he may achieve they will have no appreciable effect upon the war situation as a whole. His present action betrays the alarm he feels at the threat of our planned counter-offensive and of the air menace to Japan proper. I am in a position to assure you that the enemy, after five years of failure to crush us, will never, whatever the desperate means he may adopt, be able to smash our armies in the field. The further he penetrates into our territory the more surely will he be digging himself a grave there. We shall certainly contrive to retain the initiative in all forthcoming military action. We shall regard the blind fury of his attacks as the impetus driving the enemy on to self-destruction.

I predicted some months ago that before the autumn of this year the enemy would bring more of our territory under his occupation, while other points would be recovered by us. Such local

IMPORTANCE OF FOOD POLICY IN WARTIME

gain and loss of ground, however, will be no decisive factor in the final issue of the war. Henceforth our strategy and tactics will be designed with a view to co-ordinating operations in China with those on all other fronts and winning a final victory that will be as much our allies' as our own. We must realize we are now engaged in a war of a different character to that of the single-handed struggle of days previous to December of last year. We are no longer concerned to retain any single town or district, to prevail for a passing hour or day. We are out to secure a fundamental settlement of the Sino-Japanese conflict as a part of the whole world war. We shall strive to do our duty as the member of the United Nations responsible for the defense of the Asiatic base for an Allied counter-offensive. You must impress this view of the situation upon your fellow-countrymen in the localities to which you are to return home. If every man of us exerts his best efforts and we consequently develop our national strength and revolutionary spirit to the utmost there can be no question of our ability to recover the ground lost and help deliver the oppressed peoples from the yoke of the aggressors. The foundation upon which final victory can be built is laid. Now it is for us to do justice, by a great majority of self-reliance, to the advantages we have derived from the assistance of heaven and our allies. You must feel in what a momentous period of our national history you are living and how important a part food administration plays in the work of revolution. You will then leave nothing undone in planning a national food administration such as will ensure the country a well fed people and army.

You are all in posts of high responsibility and your proper fulfillment of your duties will mean the success of the most important economic phase of national policy. The importance of food policy today is equal to that of our monetary policy in 1935 when the Government introduced a unified national currency. An effective food policy is essential both to victory and to the future realization of Dr. Sun's principle of the People's Livelihood. You ought to conceive of yourselves as men whose work may determine the whole course of the revolution and inspired by this thought put into all you do a new enthusiasm and vigor. A year has passed since the Government established the Ministry of Food and it is a shorter time since the local administrative machinery under it began to function.

IMPORTANCE OF FOOD POLICY IN WARTIME

Generally speaking progress has not fallen short of the hoped-for results, and this is due to your loyal efforts. Devotion to the public interest can never fail to bring equally gratifying success. Sound planning and equitable methods in the compulsory purchase of foodstuffs will, I am sure, bring even greater achievements during the present year. Citizens are in general now possessed of a good understanding of their responsibilities in the work of Resistance and Reconstruction. They are ready eagerly to respond to Government leadership. We are still in an early stage of the application of this new food policy and it is most important that any administrative or technical defects perceived should be immediately rectified in order that the Government may show due appreciation of the law-abiding and public-spirited attitude of the people and local leaders of society. Above all everything possible must be done to achieve equality of burden, according to the principle which has consistently characterized Chinese financial and economic policy.

There is a very small minority of rich landowners who grumble at the slightest increase of the amount of food required of them and attempt evasion. There should be no timidity in dealing with such cases. The vast majority of landowners are however conscientious and intelligent and they will respond heartily to enlightened Government policy. We must adopt a progressive ratio of assessment so that foodstuffs shall be demanded in proportion to the capacity of individuals. The rich landowners must be instructed and given a proper sense of their great responsibility toward the nation. Government acquisition of food supplies in time of war is no less important than conscription. Equity is the fundamental principle applicable to both these essential phases of administration. Landowners and influential men of all kinds, especially members of political councils, ought to set an example to the people. The young members of rich families should offer themselves for military service. If not one of two sons, at least one of three sons, should be ready to do so. In the case of the well-educated there are the officers' training schools which they can enter with a view to becoming reserve officers. Many sons of the educated, propertied and official classes are now volunteering for military service, but there is still too general a tendency for the privileged to evade conscrip-

tion while the poor are willing to serve even when the law permits their exemption. There are cases of connivance on the part of the authorities in practices of evasion. The unfairness, as much as the illegality involved, is appalling. If to remissness in this respect the rich add violations of the law in the matter of food at this time of great national distress they will lose all right to citizenship of a modern state.

Let me adduce an illustration from my personal experience. My forefathers possessed a hundred or more mow of land, which, as it happens, was sold to endow the educational institutions of the locality while my mother was still alive. Supposing, however, the land were still my property it would be entirely lost to me since my native place is now occupied by the enemy. However willing I might be to make the nation a gift of it I should be powerless to do so. In the same way young men in our Northeastern Provinces fully prepared to serve in the national armies have instead to endure the oppression of the invader. Any landowner who takes this point to heart can scarcely indulge in selfish niggling where national food requirements are concerned. Only the troops stand between landowners and the enemy who would rob them of their all. Yet there are some who so forget what they owe our soldiers as to contrive by any means in their power a reduction of the contribution they are obliged to make to military food supplies. They appear to regard themselves as a class apart, not responsible for the welfare of the nation and their own descendants. Men of influence ought to censure such conduct and the Government deal severely with it. After five years of resistance the Government has done nothing to curtail normal commercial transactions in foodstuffs within the limits of the law and has kept an open mind in listening to suggestions from all quarters regarding methods of compulsory purchase. Among all other nations at war none has a government so liberal. According to the usual procedure when a state is at war its government exercises complete control over all food supplies to meet the needs of the emergency. Our Government however has not seen fit to take similar action because of its confidence in its citizens' patriotism and the rich resources of our country. Should there be dissent from the very reasonable demands made both the Government and the people will be bound to condemn it without reserve. On

the part of the poor voluntary sacrifice has been the rule, while the well-to-do have frequently been guilty of meanness.

Of late the United States, knowing of our national difficulties, has unconditionally extended to us a loan of five hundred million American dollars, the equivalent of 10,000,000,000 dollars in Chinese currency. It is strange therefore that any Chinese citizens are to be found who refuse to contribute a portion of their surplus food-stuffs to the defense of their own homes. Their conduct is a great injury to their country's reputation. It is imperative that Government supplies of food should be equal to the needs of the Army and people. No obstacle to this can be tolerated. The amount purchased must at least exceed the figure fixed for collection of land tax in kind.

I have also some views to express regarding administrative machinery and its working. The Chungking papers today have devoted much editorial space to the subject of this conference and food problems. I hope that you will all give close attention to the expression of public opinion in the press and elsewhere. Valuable suggestions should by all means be followed. The points upon which I myself wish to remark are as follows:

(1) At present the Ministry of Finance, the Land Administration Department of the Ministry of the Interior, and certain military organizations are all concerned in food administration. The exigencies of efficient administration must dictate what measures should be taken to effect adjustment and co-ordination. The detached and autocratic functioning of Government organs dealing with the same phase of administration—a common fault in the past—must be guarded against. There must be both division of labor and co-operation, but efficiency is impossible without co-operation. It is essential that the purchasing, transport and storage of food supplies should be subject to the over-all supervision of the Ministry of Food. Various sections of the Government may be involved but they must function harmoniously, and lend their willing co-operation to the Ministry of Food.

(2) The main features of the Government's food policy and administrative methods have already been made public throughout the country. Within the limits of the Government's defined legislation there is room for the adjustment of local practice to meet

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peculiar conditions in individual localities. The one point that can in no wise be neglected is that the total quantity of foodstuffs purchased must exceed the total collections of land tax in kind. This will permit of a lightening of the burden for small farmers and a proportionately heavier demand upon the rich. The principle of equity requires this, and it must be so if we are to be sure of attaining the goal we have set ourselves for this year.

(3) In regard to the adjustment of supply and demand all sections of the Government concerned in food administration should be quite clear as to the fact that the difficulties of the food situation do not turn upon any question of a lack of food but simply and solely upon ways and means of control and distribution. In some places there is a surplus while in others there may be serious shortages. The Minister has just mentioned his intention of effecting retrenchment in the machinery of food transportation and storage. I feel that this is a matter for very careful deliberation. Beyond the business of acquiring stocks of food there is the problem of distribution for the solution of which the improvement of means of transport and storage is indispensable. For such improvement it is in turn necessary to enlist the services of the people and win their confidence by demonstrating concern for their interests and freeing them from all undue exactions. Concrete provisions in this respect must be devised and thereafter scrupulously applied by every grade of the local administrative machinery. Wherever there is essential work to be done we cannot afford to make any miserly retrenchment of expenditure. At the same time, however, all officials engaged in food administration should cultivate habits of strict frugality and never forget that the food they are handling has been produced by the hard work of the people.

Apart from defects and abuses pointed out by today's papers much value should be attached to all similar expression of public opinion. You must keep a close watch over your subordinates and make it your aim to see that all concerned in food administration go about their work with constant thought for the good of the nation and the people. Means of checking and preventing abuses should be devised. The principle of equity and equalization of burden should never be lost sight of. If your unremitting efforts are added to the favorable weather conditions which are making for

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A rich harvest there will undoubtedly be an even better record to show for this year's work than for last year's. There is every ground for confidence regarding the military situation. The chief need of the future lies in a satisfactory solution of food problems. I hope you will carry home with you when this conference is at an end the determination to display the spirit of self-help and self-reliance without which a nation cannot long continue to exist.

China's War, a World War

A message broadcast to the Chinese people and Army on July 7, 1942, on the fifth anniversary of China's War of Resistance.

JULY 7, 1942.

TODAY we commemorate the fifth anniversary of the beginning of China's armed resistance. The struggle of the Chinese Army and people against aggression has been in progress for five full years. The past year has, moreover, been a year of extraordinary developments in the world situation which will determine the final outcome of the war. On this solemn occasion foremost in our hearts and minds must be the sorrowing homage we owe to all those who have nobly laid down their lives for the common cause. At the same time let us take this opportunity of expressing our gratification at the achievement of our allies. The present moment affords me also a fitting occasion to acknowledge China's appreciation of the gallantry of our Allied forces which are fighting shoulder to shoulder with us. To the governments and peoples of the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Russia, the Netherlands, Australia, India, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Mexico, and others of the United Nations, I express our warm thanks for the unfailing concern they have felt for us at every stage of our national trial. Their readiness to extend collaboration to China has been a constant source of encouragement to us.

You must realize, my fellow-countrymen, that these five hard years of resistance comprise a record unprecedented in the annals of modern warfare. The war China is engaged in is unique not only as being the longest for the past hundred years but also as an example of a weak nation standing up to a strong. In this long and bitter conflict the unshakable solidarity of the Chinese people has demonstrated the greatness of their traditional spirit of independence. We have become the vanguard of the forces opposing aggression; the whole world recognizes our position as champion of international

justice and understands the value of our spiritual strength. The present war is a war between good and evil, between right and might. The difficulties and perils we have encountered have only served to give proof of the undaunted revolutionary spirit possessed by our people. Through all these difficulties and dangers a sure path has been found and our efforts have not been made in vain. The guidance we have derived from the noble principles of Dr. Sun's revolutionary teachings has enabled us to give this demonstration of the invincible and sustaining qualities of our national character. The moral ascendancy we have acquired is such as no force or knavery can ever shatter; it is the guarantee for our victory and an all-important factor in our reconstruction. Today China no longer stands alone as she has stood for four and a half years. Our present position imposes greater responsibilities upon us. I desire today to impress upon you the weight of those responsibilities that fall to our lot in the present world war. You will, I trust, continue to do your duty with devotion and endurance.

China is charged with the duty of operating as the main fighting force on the Asiatic continent. That duty is laid upon us with the same urgency as the duty of America to deal in the Pacific with her first and most threatening enemy—Japan. The other Allies such as Great Britain and Soviet Russia have each naturally a particular duty to perform in accordance with their respective geographical positions. Each is keenly sensible of certain inalienable obligations. The naval situation in the Pacific, for instance, has developed in such a way as to expose American soil to a direct threat from Japan, for she has proved the first power to invade American territory, attack the American fleet, and flout American prestige. What we have seen of recent American action in the Pacific, the bombing of Tokyo, and the engagements in the Coral Sea, off Midway Island and at Dutch Harbor, has been sufficient indication that America is beginning to discharge her supremely important duty in the Pacific. That is to say, America is bound to deal first with the enemy from which she has the most to fear for the defense of her own soil and for her security as the "Arsenal of the Democracies" and in order to carry out her mission of world leadership, not only during the present war but also in post-war reconstruction. You must be on your guard against giving credence to superficial specula-

tions that Allied strategy and policy consider the Pacific War to be of secondary importance; that our allies intend to let Japan have her own way for the time being; or even that there is no comprehensive Allied strategy and that there is no concrete organization to direct Allied efforts. All such talk leads to unjustified apprehension. In the near future the collapse of the enemy will enable us properly to appraise the strategy, organization and strength of the United Nations. It is my hope that you, my compatriots, will depend on yourselves to exert your utmost in the fulfillment of your sacred duty as citizens of China in the Asiatic theater of war.

There must be full realization of the fact that both space and time were on Japan's side during her campaign in the South Seas. Her initial successes, however, are no reliable indication of her real strength. In a number of broadcasts this year I have emphasized this point. Today my chief concern is to have you grasp the significance of the Midway Island, Coral Sea and Dutch Harbor engagements in which the enemy met with sharp reverses, lost four out of her six newest aircraft-carriers and two battleships. This blow marks the beginning of the decline in her fighting strength; far greater defeats will rapidly overtake her—defeats that will mean the beginning of her final collapse. Here a single fact will suffice to show the weakness of Japan. The total tonnage of her naval and merchant vessels is scarcely more than five million tons. It will be impossible for her to maintain with so few ships the vast fronts over which she has spread her forces. Meanwhile the land, sea and air strength of the United Nations is daily increasing and already exceeds that of the Axis bloc. By the end of this winter Japan's strength will be only one-tenth that of the Allies. I need not elucidate further the significance of this comparison. The final defeat of Japan will start on the sea and will end on land. Her depredations in the South Seas will prove the prelude to her disaster. She is meanwhile plunging deeper and deeper into the morass of her continental adventure, wherein for five years she has pursued a suicidal course dictated by our strategy. She will now find recovery impossible. Our efforts will determine the speed with which she can be finally overthrown. At this moment we are at a turning-point in our War of Resistance.

CHINA'S WAR, A WORLD WAR

Nevertheless, patriotism demands of us sustained sacrifice. We must now make up our minds to increase our war efforts tenfold. Irrespective of age or sex we must each contribute to the all-important task which, when completed, will bring victory and permanent security to a free world.

To the Chinese Expeditionary Forces in India

*Instructions telegraphed to the officers and men of
the Chinese Expeditionary Forces in India on
August 4, 1942.*

AUGUST 4, 1942.

THE high morale and excellent conduct which characterized the Chinese Expeditionary Forces in making their hazardous and difficult way from Burma to India is a matter of pride and gratification to the whole Chinese nation and to me as your Commander-in-Chief.

My great concern has been over the many wounded and ill amongst you and over whether suitable provisions have been made for your care. I have, therefore, dispatched General Stilwell to inspect the conditions under which you are living, to ascertain your welfare, and to issue orders which, in his opinion, would improve your well-being and would further intensify your training. General Lo Cho-ying is also on his way to you.

I trust that all of you will continue to conduct yourselves in a manner worthy of our great country and of the traditions of the Chinese Army. Toward the troops of the Allied countries of whatever nationality with whom you may come into contact you must behave yourselves with modesty and courtesy. Toward the Indian people you must show consideration and cordiality.

As Chinese soldiers, temporarily stationed for training on the soil of a friendly neighbor, you should scrupulously avoid involving yourselves in political questions or movements, and should judiciously refrain from unconsidered criticisms or discussions of Indian politics. Remember that your sole duty is to take every advantage of this period of training to prepare yourselves mentally, morally and physically to continue active military service. You should devote special attention to the study of military operations and the highly technical training now made available to you so that you will be

TO THE CHINESE EXPEDITIONARY FORCES IN INDIA

enabled in the near future to shoulder worthily your part in the stupendous task of pushing the "island dwarfs" into the sea, defeat Nazism and win the final great and glorious victory.

Officers and men of the Chinese Expeditionary Forces, this is the achievement expected of you by your compatriots in your homeland and the world over.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK

A Friend from Distant Lands

An address of welcome to Mr. Wendell L. Willkie, President Roosevelt's personal representative, at a reception on October 3, 1942, during his visit to China.

OCTOBER 3, 1942.

MR. WENDELL WILLKIE, EXCELLENCIES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I CONSIDER it a great honor to have the privilege to extend, on behalf of the Chinese Army and people, a most hearty welcome to our distinguished guest, Mr. Wendell Willkie, in this wartime capital. We have an old saying: "Is it not delightful to have friends coming from distant lands?" Since the announcement of Mr. Willkie's proposed visit to China, the Chinese Army and people have been looking forward to his arrival with great interest and eagerness. He shares with us the same aspiration and ideals. We are indeed happy to have him in our midst.

Our guest of honor comes to China as the personal representative of President Roosevelt. He is a far-sighted statesman of high ideals. As honorary President of the United China Relief, he has worked indefatigably for China's cause. We count him as one of our closest friends, irrespective of personal acquaintanceship. From his public utterances we know that he fully comprehends the long-cherished ambition of Japan for world conquest and the significance and importance of China's stubborn resistance in face of untold sufferings. He has moreover a sympathetic understanding of the ideals which have inspired our War of Resistance and our work of reconstruction.

The energetic and fruitful efforts he has made in America in the campaign for aid to China have brought the Chinese and American people closer together—people who have built up their nations upon the same ideology. His present visit has moved us to redouble our efforts in order to fulfill worthily our responsibilities as a member of the United Nations and to come up to the expectations of our allies

and our good friends, among them our guest of honor Mr. Willkie.

The forces of aggression are still at large. In order to deliver humanity from barbarism and darkness, all peace-loving peoples must needs go through hardships and tribulations. Our distinguished visitor will see with his own eyes the wanton destruction wrought by the Japanese in China during the past five years. He will notice our optimism, our conviction and our determination to achieve final victory. He will not fail to see how, in face of immense difficulties, we have been doing our utmost to increase our fighting strength and to carry on our work of reconstruction, how the Chinese Army and people are struggling for the attainment of our common aim and victory.

Mr. Willkie will, I venture to hope, let the Chinese people know more fully the concerted war efforts of the American Government and people so that they may thereby be inspired to greater exertions for the common cause. If he discovers any shortcomings in the work in which we are now engaged, I hope he will give us his candid opinion.

The very simple reception of this evening is an inadequate manifestation of the warmth with which our four hundred and fifty million people greet our distinguished guest, a great friend of China. There are present with us the representatives of the United Nations in China. This auspicious occasion is a token of the solidarity among the United Nations of our determination to co-operate to the fullest extent, to fight on until we obtain ultimate victory and create a new era in the future world order.

Now, I ask you to join with me in drinking to the health of President Roosevelt and to Mr. Wendell Willkie.

MR. WILLKIE'S RESPONSE

I HAVE come to China to pay homage not only to the Chinese people but to one of the truly great men of his time, your Generalissimo. This tribute I deliver to you personally as one American who has watched for years the struggle of China under his leadership. But I deliver it to you also as the representative of President Roosevelt and as the representative of the American people.

Your Generalissimo is one of the best known men in my country and one of the best liked. I think that most Americans like and re-

spect him for two qualities. They see in him an aggressive spirit, the spirit of a man who is not daunted by difficulties but works ceaselessly to overcome them. And they also see in him, as they have come to know about him through our newspapers, our motion pictures, our radio, a man with a broad vision of the future, who believes in his heart that freedom and security are possible of achievement not only for China but for the whole world. I think I understand tonight more about this aggressive spirit than I ever did before.

I came to China not through what used to be called a "treaty port," but through the great and wealthy provinces to the west of here. I have lived and worked in the West of America and I know from first-hand experience the kind of aggressive self-confidence which is developed in pioneer regions by men who are not afraid to take chances, sometimes very grave chances, in pursuit of what they believe in.

Prediction is not my business, but I would be prepared to make a substantial bet that the confident, aggressive, determined spirit I have seen in Sinkiang and in Kansu and Szechwan and which the outside world knows about chiefly through the personality of your Generalissimo, is not likely to be stopped by floods, by earthquakes or by the Japanese.

Americans are no less interested in the Generalissimo as both a symbol and a leader of the great struggle for a better future in which we are all engaged. As you know even better than we in the United States, war is an expensive, ugly business. Its rewards must be great if mankind is not to perish by its own sword. The rewards of this war must be greater than those of any other war and they must be paid in the cash of freedom and security. The Generalissimo, working with the principles of Dr. Sun, has helped to launch the Chinese people on a great experiment in democracy, one in which the goals of self-government and liberty have not been lost sight of even in national crises where security, the security of the Chinese nation has been paramount. I like to think that not only China but the whole Pacific area and the entire world may emerge from this war with their faces set directly toward a larger experiment along the same line. It will not really be an experiment because we are confident that we already know the answer. We know that only liberty, real liberty of all peoples, is worth fighting for. We know

that only security which means the right to live decently and well for all peoples can be a guarantee that we shall not have to fight these wars over again every generation.

Your Generalissimo stands in the very front rank among leaders of his time who have given this challenge to the world and who are struggling to fulfill it. I report to you as an ordinary American who loves China and the Chinese people that your leader is a great man not only among his own people but before the world.

I view this war as a great world struggle for freedom. It will not be won by timid souls. It will be won only by bold and courageous men who inspire their peoples to undertake and carry through bold plans. Timid souls can always find reasons for a delay in aggressively pushing through to victory. I have just visited the Mediterranean area, the Middle East and Russia, and now I am here in China. I toured the battlefronts of both Egypt and Russia. I talked with military officials, with government leaders and above all with scores and scores of people—regular people, simple people—and what I did learn from them, particularly from the ordinary citizen in whose intuitive judgment lies wisdom even for experts, was that the ordinary citizen from Cairo to Moscow to Chungking is a lover of liberty and wants action, action now. He feels the time has come for the United Nations in a great unison of effort to take the offensive everywhere. He is ahead of his leaders—this plain citizen of Africa, of Europe or Asia or America. He wants to get on with the war, he wants to get the job done. He no longer believes or fears the myth that Germany and Japan are invincible. It annoys him that much of the might of the United Nations stands idle awaiting action only on some future day. This ordinary citizen is ready now. He is the strength of the United Nations. His faith in the justice of our cause makes him a superman. We must all catch his infectious spirit of enthusiasm for an immediate slashing, courageous attack to enable us to sweep over the aggressor nations and on to a new world of victory with justice, freedom, equality and opportunity for all nations and all men.

Loyalty and Reciprocity

A message broadcast to the Chinese people and soldiers on the thirty-first anniversary of the Chinese National Day on October 10, 1942.

OCTOBER 10, 1942.

ON THIS thirty-first anniversary of the Chinese Republic every citizen should call to mind the arduous efforts of all those who helped to bring the Republic into existence. It is well to remember the difficulties and reverses which Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his numerous comrades had met since the opening of his revolutionary career, and we must be thankful that their spirit of sacrifice and perseverance finally culminated in the success of the Revolution in 1911. At this critical moment in our War of Resistance, the lesson we ought to learn from our past experience is that no genuine freedom, no true independence and no final victory is possible unless we keep on strengthening ourselves and struggling hard in face of fresh hardships. Today I wish to point out to you fellow-countrymen and soldiers, the moral basis for our national policy and existence.

For five thousand years the spirit of our national culture and traditions has been such as may be summed up in the phrases "loyalty and thoughtfulness" and "goodwill and love." Loyalty consists in performing one's duties to the very best of one's ability; thoughtfulness is the will to think of the affairs of others in terms of one's own—to avoid doing to others what one would not have them do to oneself. Since we will not tolerate oppression and aggression from others we must refrain ourselves from oppressive or aggressive action in our dealings with others and discountenance such action throughout the world. The aim which we and our allies have set before us in the present war is freedom and security for humanity and its civilization; we are not concerned with the selfish interests of a single nation or country. In striking contrast with the ambition of the Axis to subject other races to the tyranny of one that claims superiority, our desire is to see proper importance attached

LOYALTY AND RECIPROCITY

to the interests of all races. Resistance is an expression of our solicitude for the well-being of all mankind and our determination to make it possible for the world to enjoy genuine peace. It is also a demonstration of our faith in the Three People's Principles. Of those principles the Principle of Nationalism is of especial importance at the present stage, for while the existence of the nation remains in danger the application of the other two principles—of democracy and a rising level of livelihood—will depend upon our success in applying the first.

The Principle of Nationalism requires of us the deliverance of our nation and also the endeavor to obtain equality of status for all other nations. Our national tradition of "goodwill and love" impels us to this concern for the interests of other countries. Dr. Sun, in asserting these tenets as a national creed, believed that the world can attain to lasting peace and order only through the development of this spirit of goodwill and love. The object of his revolutionary work was as much world salvation as national salvation. The goal of world unity he envisaged consists in equal enjoyment of the goods of independence and freedom by all peoples without distinction of color or power. Being now engaged in this just war for the assertion of Right against Might, we must prepare, in collaboration with our allies, to devise means of making sure that there shall be no repetition of this disaster in the future. Our duty for the present remains to exert our best efforts in our own defense and rehabilitation.

I turn next to the main principles of national reconstruction which we must keep in sight in our life. The qualities which the reconstruction program demands of us are industry, frugality and conscientiousness, which it happens are qualities peculiarly characteristic of our people. We must lay fresh emphasis upon their importance. On several occasions this year I have urged upon my fellow-countrymen the necessity of conforming their ways of living to the exigencies of war time and carrying into full effect the provisions of the National Mobilization Act. Today, however, there is still insufficient evidence of urgency and energetic devotion to duty which we require. We must have a livelier sense of the gravity of the emergency and the realization that life in war time must necessarily be one of hardship. We must be prepared to endure

LOYALTY AND RECIPROCITY

privations for the sake of the great undertaking of national rehabilitation. We must all bestir ourselves to bring all our activities into line with the provisions of the National Mobilization Act. All those with technical ability must make their contribution to its full implementation. The individual must practice thrift in his personal life and go about his work with enthusiastic and scrupulous attention to the public interest. The hardships of the fighting men at the front should be considered the standard by which to judge all civil life; their sacrifices should be the measure of what is required of all citizens. If this maxim is obeyed the country will be in no danger of falling short of the aims of reconstruction.

Beautiful and Touching Gesture

Messages to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill on October 13, 1942, in appreciation of the American and British moves to relinquish extraterritorial rights in China.

OCTOBER 13, 1942.

MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT:

ON THE occasion of the thirty-first anniversary of the Republic of China the entire nation rejoiced that the United States has made a voluntary move to relinquish extraterritorial rights in China. Furthermore the ringing of the Liberty Bell in Independence Hall to commemorate China's Liberty Day finds resounding echoes in every Chinese heart of goodwill and friendship for America. These tributes will do more to uphold the morale of our people in continuing resistance than anything else could possibly do.

I personally am so deeply moved by this beautiful and touching gesture that I cannot find words adequate to express my feeling. As a boy the very words Liberty Bell and Independence Hall fired my imagination and made a profound and lasting impression on my mind. Throughout my struggle to secure national freedom for China I have continuously dreamed of the day when she would assume the full stature of an independent and democratic nation. Today this ideal has been realized.

From the bottom of my heart I thank you for your superb and inspired leadership and moral courage in assisting China to gain equality among the United Nations. I assure you that China shall not fail you in our joint task of securing freedom for all mankind.

MESSAGE TO PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL:

CHINA appreciates deeply the gesture of friendship and goodwill that Britain has made in determining to abrogate extraterritoriality in China. I feel certain that this expressive evidence of

BEAUTIFUL AND TOUCHING GESTURE

Sino-British friendship based on equality and mutual trust will inaugurate a new and significant era not only in the Far East but throughout the entire world. By this voluntary abandonment of obsolete privileges, Britain has won a great moral victory to which Your Excellency's farsighted statesmanship has made a lasting contribution.

National and Allied Co-operation

Opening address delivered at the Third People's Political Council on October 22, 1942.

OCTOBER 22, 1942.

AT TODAY'S session of the Third People's Political Council some of you are members who have been re-elected, and others have been newly elected to the present Council by various localities. With resistance in its sixth year and the hour of victory close at hand this assembly will undoubtedly be able to make a substantial contribution to the nation's war effort. The Council as now constituted has a significance that transcends that of the two previous councils. On behalf of the Government I extend a wholehearted welcome to you all who have journeyed here over long distances at great cost of time and trouble.

When our last session was held in November of last year, the Pacific was threatened with imminent outbreak of war. Since the opening of the Japanese campaign of aggression in that ocean on December 8, China, in the company of the United Nations, has become the most important member of the forces fighting on the continent of East Asia. She is no longer the single-handed protagonist of the cause of her own independence; her fate is one with that of the whole world. Our responsibilities and the scope of our operations are now far more extensive than ever before.

I can assure you that the progress made by us has been as substantial as the difficulties have been formidable. The revision of tactics and strategy, the reform of management and preparation for counter-offensive operations, have proceeded smoothly. The battles fought in China during the past year have made it clear that we have already passed from the defensive to the offensive warfare. We have achieved indubitable results in all our military measures of preparation for a general counter-offensive, despite the great difficulties of the situation we have had to face.

In the initial stage of the Pacific War the Japanese seemed

borne along by a wave of good fortune. Since June of this year, however, they have met with a number of sharp reverses, in the Coral Sea, off Midway Island, and at Dutch Harbor. Their naval and air strength has been steadily declining, and recently in the Solomons and New Guinea, where the Allies have not yet fully developed their offensive, there have been unmistakable signs of the enemy's exhaustion. The Japanese militarists have called upon their people "not to under-estimate" Anglo-American strength. They have announced that the present moment is not opportune for the commencement of reconstruction in the South Seas; they have emphasized the need of preparing for a war of long duration; they have appealed for greater sacrifices. Although Soviet Russia is now engaged in fierce fighting with Nazi Germany, she has in no way relaxed the vigilance she maintains on her eastern frontier. As a result of the failure of the German offensive in Russia and the stabilization of the British position in Northern Africa, the Japanese have had to abandon their plans for northern expansion and a junction of forces with Germany; the future presents to them a spectacle of fathomless uncertainty.

The past year has been especially memorable for the change it has seen come about in our relations with other Powers. Despite the damage caused to our means of communication with the outside world by the loss of Hongkong and Burma, the circumstance has done much to bring about fuller collaboration between China and Great Britain, the United States, Soviet Russia and other allies. But we are also opening up new routes of communication, and we have achieved genuine military co-ordination. A great increase of the financial and material assistance has been placed at our disposal. Our allies have come to appreciate the effectiveness and importance of our resistance, and to understand better the moral significance and aims of the war we have been waging for over five years.

A still deeper cause for gratification is to be found in the announcement made by the British and American governments on the Double Tenth (China's National Day, October 10) of their intention immediately to abrogate their extraterritorial rights in China and enter into negotiations with a view to making all relevant adjustments in their relations with the Chinese Government. There will therefore be no occasion to wait until after the war for the

abolition of extraterritoriality. The gratitude we feel and the encouragement we have derived are inseparable from an added sense of our great responsibility. We are fully aware that since our allies have accorded us equality of status it stands to reason that we shall rightly be expected to bear an equal share of the war burden.

I may mention four points of vital importance in the present situation. First, the power of the Axis, having passed the zenith of its development, is now on the decline. Its final defeat is a matter of certainty. Secondly, the war will be of long duration and a conclusion is not to be looked for within any short period of time. Thirdly, the rapidity and volume of Allied war production are an assurance to the anti-aggression nations for a final victory. Fourthly, the present conflict will issue in a thoroughly conclusive decision and the post-war world will undoubtedly be one wherein all nations can live in freedom and equality of status one with another.

The moral prestige of the nations which can contribute most to the victory will be correspondingly high. The chief feature of our efforts henceforth must be "endurance and conscientiousness." We shall be able to sustain those efforts only by conscientious striving toward a total victory. China's war is already unique for its length, and after more than five years of fighting our privations cannot but be great, but we must rouse our energies and summon up the maximum of our national strength to overcome fresh difficulties: trepidation or unwillingness to make sacrifices will only rob us of the fruition of our past exertions.

Modern warfare is by no means merely a matter of military operations; economic affairs constitute another factor of the first importance. The implementation of the National General Mobilization Act and the advancement of economic policy will therefore have an immense influence on the course of the war. If we fail to mobilize our manpower, to effect complete economic control, to stabilize prices, to adjust production and distribution, successes at the front will not free the nation from its peril. Let us take note of the way in which America, whose national strength is greater than ours, after less than a year of war has already instituted thorough economic control and mobilized her manpower to an astonishing extent. She has recently announced that the lower age limit for military service has been changed from 20 to 18.

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In China, however, there is still a lack of spontaneous enlistment in national military and labor service. There is still extensive waste of manpower and inadequate restriction of consumption; we have not succeeded in establishing fully effective control of commodities and prices; to a considerable degree social life is as lax now as in peacetime, since many merchants have taken selfish advantage of wartime conditions to profiteer and enrich themselves. Enthusiastic patriotism is widely absent among the people and habits of self-seeking and neglect of the public interest remain as obstacles to the success of the Government's economic policy. If this state of affairs continues the prosecution of the war will be seriously impeded. The Government is determined, however, to effect complete application of National General Mobilization, to exercise comprehensive economic control in order to stabilize the national economy, and to override all obstructions in its way. The help of persons of influence is needed if satisfactory progress is to be made in this respect, and the good offices of your Councilors and those of local *hsien* and provincial councils can prove invaluable in bringing about the desired effect.

I trust that Councilors will bear in mind the following four points in providing leadership for the people and assisting the Government. In the first place, an attempt must be made to correct the prevailing tone of social life, and promote the practice of all necessary principles of wartime conduct. This means stimulating frugality and a sense of urgency, reprehending indolence and preventing extravagance. In the second place, prices must be stabilized, for this is fundamentally necessary to the strengthening of war economy. For the success of all restrictive measures imposed, the investigation of marketing and distribution conditions, the detection of illegal practices, the facilitating of transportation, the control of commodities, and the application of the rationing system, your leadership is needed. Thirdly, in concentrating the nation's financial resources, it is essential to make the people understand that wartime financial policy is founded upon revenue from taxation, subscriptions to public loans, the collection of land tax in kind, and the promotion of savings. Consequently, the enthusiastic support of the people must be enlisted for the effective imposition of direct taxation, the soliciting of subscriptions to war bonds, the compulsory purchase of materials of

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war, the limitation of high incomes, and the control of profits and rates of interest. Only on this condition can the issue of currency be kept within proper bounds and a firm foundation for the people's livelihood be secured. Lastly, the conscription of manpower for military and labor service will, it is hoped, be supplemented by the promotion of voluntary enlistment, and the prevention of evasion and abuses. The system of stage transportation must be further expanded by employing more fully the labor power of the people. Young students and professional men are to be urged to utilize their spare time in labor service, women encouraged to devote their energies to productive activities—and all other means are to be sought to bring our total manpower to bear in resistance and reconstruction.

This assembly follows closely upon the promised abolition of extraterritoriality by Great Britain and the United States, and our country is being watched by the world with fresh interest. This should stir our Government and people to a more positive awareness of our responsibilities and invigorate our resolve to advance the cause of the United Nations.

The End of Unequal Treaties in China

An address delivered at the closing ceremony of the Third People's Political Council on October 31, 1942.

OCTOBER 31, 1942.

FOR ten days this Session has been sitting and all you Councilors have been unsparing of your energies by night and day in deliberating upon military affairs, foreign policy, internal administration, finance, economy and education. You have dealt with present problems and plans for future improvement, and have arrived at a great number of detailed resolutions. You have especially concentrated your attention upon means of strengthening the war effort, mobilizing manpower and resources, and controlling prices. In order to facilitate and expedite the application of the National Mobilization Act and wartime economic measures in general, we have resolved to set up within this Council a Committee for the Advancement of Economic Mobilization. Henceforth we must unanimously proceed to do all we can to inspire our fellow-countrymen with the determination to fulfill the duties of citizenship in time of war in such a way that the national policy may be completely carried out and final victory won.

The present session has been conducted in an extremely practical and factual spirit; it has been pervaded with an exhilarating atmosphere of determination to meet growing difficulties with redoubled resolution. I wish now to make some remarks in which I shall express the hopes I entertain regarding your future work.

One of the causes for deep gratification we and our fellow-countrymen find in recent events is of course the abolition of the unequal treaties. In this respect there is nothing specific to report at present, but I wish to assure you that Great Britain and the United States have made this proposal voluntarily, out of such sincerity of intention that there will be a satisfactory outcome of the negotiations. I believe the essential thing at the moment is how,

after we have gained equality of status with other nations, we are to exert ourselves and not fall short of our allies' expectations of us or fail to play worthily the part of a modern and independent nation. Consider how momentous an episode in the history of the nation is this deliverance from the shackles that have bound it for a hundred years. All of you here today, from the oldest to the youngest member, have without exception grown up out of a period of repeated national humiliations.

Dr. Sun, the Father of the Republic, made it his great aim in his revolutionary leadership to secure for China freedom and equality of status among the nations of the world. The principle of Nationalism has first to be applied. Then obstacles to the solution of problems involved in the application of the Principles of the People's Sovereignty and Livelihood would be removed. The vindication of our national honor has been the unvarying demand of the whole Chinese people, alike of those who were, and were not, actually concerned with the work of revolution. Now the way is open to that goal and the occasion calls for a proper sense of its unique importance on the part of every citizen. Let us look back over the history of the nation's sufferings since the establishment of the Republic and to the time of the Northern Expedition that put an end to the civil wars waged by the militarists. In 1927 the world began to understand China, and if it had not been for troubles at home and menace from without the unequal treaties would have been abolished long ago. Half of the obstacles were due to mischief done by the Japanese Imperialists and half due to pretexts founded upon our own lack of unity. The present success is the result of more than five years of war. Now we must go on to display with firmer solidarity and greater efforts our full comprehension of the stages by which the revolution has been advancing and concentrate our will and activity upon victory in resistance and the complete application of the Three People's Principles. This is the first point I hope you will endeavor to bring to your fellow-countrymen's notice.

Having now attained equality of status with our allies and other nations of the world we must shoulder the responsibilities which this age has laid upon us. The nation is responsible not only for its own interests but also for those of the world. No difficulties or sacrifices must deter us from the fulfillment of our duties

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as one unit of the forces of the United Nations, and after the war, we must be prepared, as a progressive and free nation devoted to the cause of justice, to do all that is required of us in collaboration with those nations to re-create world order and effect the deliverance of mankind. China is the largest and most ancient of Asiatic countries, but it is not for us boastfully to talk of her right to a position of "leadership" among those countries. In the spirit of the saying "all men are brothers," we shall rather regard it as our responsibility to treat the peoples of Asia, like all suffering and oppressed humanity elsewhere, as equals to help and support. Recognizing equality as the highest guiding principles in international affairs, we shall do well neither to under-estimate nor over-estimate our own importance and dignity. It is precisely Japanese militarism, with its ambition of dominating Asia under the pretense of organizing a "Co-prosperity Sphere for Greater East Asia," that constitutes the universal enemy we are determined to crush.

We have been fighting this War of Resistance with pure motive and consistent principle, not for any selfish purpose, but for the salvation of the world through first saving ourselves. Toward Asia, as toward the whole world, we wish only to do our duty, to the exclusion of any lust for power or other desires incompatible with the moral dictates of love and benevolence that are characteristic of the Chinese national spirit. The aim of the Revolution is, so far as the interests of China herself are concerned, the restoration of her original frontiers, and in regard to the rest of the world, a gradual advance of all nations from the stage of equality to that of an ideal unity. Such is the full extent of our desires. Every citizen should take stock of his country's position; the Washington Conference made China one of the four main powers, and that was an expression of the high regard in which our allies hold us. Yet the degree to which our national reconstruction and strength are inadequate in comparison with other powers must fill us with a sense of unworthiness. With the continual and fierce development of hostilities, we must go about the discharging of our responsibility toward the world by building up our own strength and intensifying our preparations for a general counter-offensive. In the present period we must stand firm, permit ourselves no vainglorious thoughts or rashness, and never slacken in our vigilance. This is the second

point I would have you Councilors impress upon your fellow-countrymen.

In all matters relating to efficiency in military operations and administration both your unreserved advice and assistance are needed by the Government. The nation has not yet in many respects met the fundamental requirements for the implementation of its war policy; there is no uniform standard of knowledge prevailing among the people, and this is one very undeniable difficulty and shortcoming. We must make a searching review of our national circumstances, devise practical measures, co-ordinate our efforts, and proceed, fully conscious of the indivisibility of our interests, to reinvigorate our national strength by urging the whole people to exertions in the common cause. The nation's affairs should be regarded as indistinguishable from the individual's; the failings of the nation or of individual citizens should make us all equally ashamed. We must convert indifference into enthusiasm, negative attitudes into positive, get rid of irresponsibility and replace the tendency to blame others by willingness to co-operate with others.

The future status of our nation can have no resemblance to what it was in the past. Our intelligentsia and men of influence in society cannot therefore any longer maintain that posture of complacent aloofness they so often affected in the past, for now the nation needs their services, their fellow-citizens need their instruction and guidance and youth their leadership. What I trust you will do is positively to make yourselves responsible to the nation and the people by providing enthusiastic leadership in the work of cultivating new political and social tendencies, and eradicating the bad old habits of insincerity, display, indolence and dilatoriness. Every citizen must realize that the status we have now acquired is the fruit of fifty years' revolutionary endeavor and five years of war. It might be lost as easily as it was gained with difficulty. If we cannot bring to the fore the virtues of diligence and thrift for which our people are renowned and cultivate habits of endurance and conscientiousness, but continue to present the spectacle of disunity described in the phrase "a tray of sand"—each man for himself, false to others and self-deceiving—we shall never be able to give our society or our nation a place in the modern world. It will reject us, and if we cannot overcome the aggressor who is the final obstacle

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to our national rehabilitation we shall have wasted our former toil, and generations of our people yet unborn will be enslaved. The reform of our social modes of thought and life is the essential means to national salvation. We must arouse our fellow-countrymen to awareness and circumspection that they may avoid all activity and thought that conflicts with the process of modernization, all feudalistic provincialism and sectionalism that undermines the authority of the Government. The nation must be led truly to value the unique opportunity it now possesses of restoring its pristine glory and demonstrating the spirit of selfless devotion to the universal good which is the salient feature of its cultural traditions. There must be a rebirth of that spirit such as will enable us to fight and to build with success. This is the third point I have to recommend to you as a keynote of your activity as leaders of your people.

The recent war situation is more favorable than that of any other time when the Council has met. We can perceive the coming of the dawn both of victory in war and success in reconstruction. The problems of the future will, however, be numerous and the crises through which the revolution will yet have to pass confront us in anticipation. The recovery of full health and vigor in a country afflicted with so many maladies as ours has been will not be so easy a matter as some may suppose. The fate of the nation is now in the balance; we must look to ourselves for the strength to win survival for our country; its destiny will depend upon men of our generation. We must not allow any particular set of circumstances to affect the fixed conception of our mission. Only by a great devotion to the cause can we act up to the achievements of these years of war and carry on the unfinished work of the revolutionary martyrs. One of the most important duties of you Councilors who are about to return to the localities from which you have come will be the expediting in all ways that lie within your power of national mobilization and the work of the Committee for the Advancement of Economic Mobilization. These are days when the nation's hopes are high and at the same time the weight of our duties is constantly growing. I trust that you will all strive your utmost in the national service that is yours.

From Man's Oldest Parliament

The first speech of welcome was given by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek to the members of the British Parliamentary Mission at the banquet given by the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang in their honor on November 12, 1942. The second speech was delivered when the British guests attended the Tenth Plenary Session of the Fifth Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang held on the 16th of the same month.

NOVEMBER 12, 1942.

HONORABLE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY MISSION:

I DEEM it a great pleasure to have the privilege of extending to you, on behalf of the people of China, a cordial and hearty welcome. We have been looking forward to your visit with eagerness, and we are all the more delighted to have you with us, because this is, I understand, the first time that the British Parliament, the oldest representative assembly in the world, sends an official mission abroad.

You have come from afar, after an arduous trip, to bring us a message of goodwill from your great nation, to acquaint yourselves and take back with you the hopes for the future of our people regarding your people and to strengthen the bonds of comradeship between us. Your mission is on everybody's lips and your presence cannot fail to be a source of encouragement and inspiration to the Chinese Army and people.

We Chinese have a saying: "To see even only once is better than to learn from a hundred reports," which is equivalent to your "Seeing is believing." From your own observation, you will not fail to notice the deep appreciation of the Chinese Government and people for the moral and material assistance you have rendered them in their struggle.

We are sincerely touched by the widespread sympathetic inter-

est of the British people in our ordeal, and by the innumerable tokens of sympathy as manifested in the incessant efforts to enlist support for our cause. The present United Aid to China Fund, the recent renunciation of extraterritoriality and related rights and the visit of your mission itself are to us additional proofs of Great Britain's friendship for China.

I hope that you will gain a true picture of the severity of our trials and tribulations in these five long years, the grimness of our determination to prosecute the war to total victory, and the firmness of our faith in the ultimate triumph of the common cause to which our people have dedicated themselves.

For several years we fought alone against aggression in this part of the world. But never for a moment did we lose faith in the ultimate outcome of our resistance against aggression, for as one of our ancient sages, Mencius, said: "He who has a just cause receives aid from many quarters." How true these words ring today!

Now that our two countries and the other United Nations are intimately bound together in a common cause and a common destiny, it behooves all of us to co-operate to the fullest extent—and I know we are all equally resolved to do it—not only in the prosecution of the war, but also in the building up of a saner and happier world.

RESPONSE OF LORD AILWYN, MEMBER OF THE
HOUSE OF LORDS.

MAY I express on behalf of the British Parliamentary Delegation our most grateful thanks to Your Excellency for your very kind welcome to us here this evening and for words with which you have been good enough to address us.

The British people were not slow to realize the importance and the significance of Your Excellency's request that a Parliamentary Mission should visit this country. They were, too, greatly pleased at the interest and satisfaction expressed in messages from China welcoming this visit. It is as Your Excellency has said a unique event—the first of its kind, I believe, in British Parliamentary history—and we are very proud to find ourselves here as members of this mission.

We were delighted with the warm and enthusiastic welcome which we received on our arrival at Chungking yesterday and we

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shall not fail to tell them at home of the kindness extended to us both in the matter of our reception and in the thought and consideration given to our comfort and welfare for the term of our visit.

Before leaving London we were received by His Majesty the King who charged us with the delivery to His Excellency the President of the National Government of a personal letter of greeting from His Majesty. We were further entrusted with two personal letters to Your Excellency, one from our Prime Minister Mr. Churchill and the other from the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain and the Speaker of the House of Commons. We have been happy to carry out these duties and we have had the honor of delivering these letters today.

Your Excellency, we have come to China with the keenest anticipation. We hope to see all that it is possible to show us of the great and valiant work of the Chinese people and of the Chinese Army under the inspiring leadership of Your Excellency through nearly five and a half years of epic struggle. Nor do we forget the noble work and high courage of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, some of the results of whose labors up and down the country we shall also hope to see. We should like, if you will permit us, to tell you something of the British war effort and of our inflexible will and determination not to sheathe the sword until out of this welter of bloodshed and suffering there emerges a world purged once and for all of the forces of evil which now beset the peace-loving peoples of the world.

May I express once more to Your Excellency our deep sense of gratitude for this great privilege which is ours of visiting your great country and for your kind hospitality to us this evening.

RESPONSE OF MR. J. J. LAWSON, MEMBER OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WE COUNT it a privilege to visit your country at a time when China and her people have won the admiration of the world by their heroic and long-sustained stand against a cruel and powerful enemy. It is not only a privilege but a very great honor to come at the invitation of your Government to represent the Parliament of Great Britain.

Two of our members are Conservatives, one is a Liberal, one is

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a Socialist. But whatever our political views, however we may differ, we have one strong bond of unity today, and that is rooted in the view of the British people and its Parliament, to utterly destroy the fascist enemy in Germany and Japan.

To that end the whole life of the people of Britain is dedicated. In times of peace we never had more than fourteen million industrial workers. Since the war we have turned twenty-three million men and women to the production of armaments out of a population of forty-six millions. In addition we have sent millions into the armed forces and great numbers to civil defense.

It can be truly said that today in Britain, apart from the very old and very young, everybody is engaged in the common struggle with the enemy. You in this land were the first to meet the onslaught of cruel men upon the decent peace-loving people of the world. You met the attack with a courage and fortitude which has gained for the Chinese people the gratitude of the Allied Nations. We are proud to be standing side by side with you.

When the old lost sense of security is restored by victory I trust that the friendship welded by the fires of war may enable us to work together for the establishment of that permanent peace in which new triumphs of culture will be achieved and new depths of human friendship sounded among the nations of the earth.

NOVEMBER 16, 1942.

YOUR EXCELLENCY AND HONORABLE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY MISSION:

IT IS a happy coincidence that the British Parliamentary Mission has arrived in Chungking at a time when the Tenth Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of our Kuomintang is taking place. The four honorable members of the group collectively constitute a unique mission of goodwill from the British people to the people of China, and the enthusiasm with which they are being greeted everywhere since their arrival is a measure of appreciation on the part of our Government and people of the significance of their visit. Individually, they represent the three principal political parties of Great Britain. Therefore in my capacity as Director-General of the Kuomintang and on behalf of this session I take pleasure in bidding them a hearty welcome and express our satis-

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faction that they have come to this meeting in order to get a glimpse of the Central Committee at work.

I hope that the visit of these distinguished guests to our meeting today will prove to be a valuable link between the Kuomintang of China and the three main political parties of our friend and ally Great Britain, not only in the common struggle of the United Nations for the cause of freedom and democracy, but also in the furtherance of friendly co-operation between China and Great Britain in the post-war world.

China's After-War Aims

A message sent to the eleventh annual Forum on Current Problems under the auspices of the New York Herald Tribune and delivered on November 17, 1942.

NOVEMBER 17, 1942.

THE political testament of the Father of our Republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, began with a reminder to his followers that "the Revolution is not yet achieved." Even after the National Revolution succeeded in overthrowing the warlords and unified China in 1927, we have continued to characterize our Government as a revolutionary government.

Critics asked: Now that you have established a government of all China, why do you persist in calling yourselves a revolutionary government? What do you mean by revolution?

The answer is that what we mean by revolution is the attainment of all three of Dr. Sun's basic principles of national revolution: national independence, progressive realization of democracy, and a rising level of living conditions for the masses. When victory comes at the end of this war, we shall have fully achieved national independence, but will have far to go to attain our other two objectives. Hence our claim that ours is still a revolutionary government, which means no more and no less than it is a government dedicated to attaining these other two objectives.

Insisting on national independence for all peoples, Dr. Sun's vision transcends the problem of China and seeks equality for all peoples, East and West alike. China not only fights for her own independence, but also for the liberation of every oppressed nation. For us the Atlantic Charter and President Roosevelt's proclamation of the four freedoms for all peoples are the cornerstones of our fighting faith.

For many centuries Chinese society has been free of class distinctions such as are found even in advanced democracies. At the

core of our political thought is our traditional maxim: "The people form the foundation of the country." We Chinese are instinctively democratic, and Dr. Sun's objective of universal suffrage evokes from all Chinese a ready and unhesitating response. But the processes and forms by which the will of the people is made manifest, and the complex machinery of the modern government cannot, I know to my cost, be created overnight, especially under the constant menace and attack of Japanese militarism.

During the last years of his life, Dr. Sun devoted much of his forward thinking to the economic reconstruction of China, and nothing, I believe, so marked his greatness as his insistence that the coming tremendous economic reconstruction of China should benefit, not the privileged few, but the entire nation.

The absence of a strong central government capable of directing economic development, the bondage of unequal treaties trying to keep China as a semi-colony for others, and, above all, the jealous machinations of Japan—all those greatly retarded the economic reconstruction to which the national revolution of China is dedicated.

But the end of the present war will find China freed of her bondage, with a vigorous government and a people ardent with desire to rebuild their country. I feel the force of this desire as a tidal wave which will not only absorb the energies of our people for a century, but will also bring lasting benefits to the entire world.

But the bright promise of the future which has done much to sustain us during our grim struggle with Japan will cruelly vanish if after paying the price this second time we don't achieve the reality of world co-operation.

I hear that my American friends have confidence in the experience of men who have "come up the hard way." My long struggles as a soldier of the Chinese Revolution have forced me to realize the necessity of facing hard facts. There will be neither peace, nor hope, nor future for any of us unless we honestly aim at political, social and economic justice for all peoples of the world, great and small. But I feel confident that we of the United Nations can achieve that aim only by starting at once to organize an international order embracing all peoples to enforce peace and justice among men. To make that start we must begin today, and not tomorrow, to apply these principles among ourselves even at some sacrifice to the abso-

lute powers of our individual countries. We should bear in mind one of the most inspiring utterances of the last World War, that of Edith Cavell:

"Standing at the brink of the grave, I feel that patriotism alone is not enough."

We Chinese are not so blind as to believe that a new international order will usher in the millennium. But we don't look upon it as visionary. The idea of universal brotherhood is innate in the catholic nature of Chinese thought; it was a dominant concept of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, whom events have proved time and again to be not a visionary but one of the world's greatest realists.

Among our friends there has been recently some talk of China emerging as the leader of Asia, as if China wished the mantle of an unworthy Japan to fall on her shoulders. Having herself been a victim of exploitation, China has infinite sympathy for the submerged nations of Asia, and towards them China feels she has only responsibilities—not rights. We repudiate the idea of leadership of Asia because the "fuehrer principle" has been synonymous for domination and exploitation, precisely as the "East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" has stood for a race of mythical supermen lording over groveling subject races.

China has no desire to replace Western imperialism in Asia with an Oriental imperialism, or isolationism of its own or of any one else. We hold that we must advance from the narrow idea of exclusive alliance and regional blocs, which in the end make for bigger and more terrible wars, to the effective organization of world unity. Unless real world co-operation replaces both isolationism and imperialism of whatever form in the new interdependent world of free nations, there will be no lasting security for you or for us.

The Comradeship of the United Nations

Messages to President Roosevelt and Prime Ministers Winston Churchill, John Curtin and Mackenzie King on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Pacific War, December 7, 1942.

DECEMBER 7, 1942.

TO FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

ON THIS anniversary of your entry into the war, brought about by the treacherous attack of our common enemy on American territory in the Pacific, I tender to you my warm greetings and good wishes. We have watched with deep admiration America's stupendous achievements in her war efforts under your inspiring leadership. The victories which have crowned your arms are indeed heartening to all freedom-loving peoples. China has fought the enemy for over five years and now the pride is hers to fight shoulder to shoulder with America and other United Nations for the cause of democracy. This comradeship-in-arms cannot but spur us on to greater efforts and strengthen our resolve to prosecute this war to its successful conclusion. And when victory is won, the sincere friendship and mutual understanding, fostered by this comradeship-in-arms, will greatly aid us in our common task of shaping a new world order based on justice and freedom.

TO WINSTON CHURCHILL, PRIME MINISTER OF GREAT BRITAIN:

A YEAR ago today, our common enemy's ruthless attack on you extended the war for you to the Pacific. On this anniversary, I extend to you my hearty greetings and good wishes for a speedy victory. The grim determination of your people to carry on the war until the forces of evil are utterly destroyed and the heroic sacrifices they are making for our common cause find a spontaneous response in the hearts of the Chinese people. With your entry into the Pacific War, China has gained an invaluable ally. And now, our two peoples are fighting side by side and the spirit of comrade-

ship, engendered by these associations, will serve them well not only in the prosecution of the war, but also, when the day of final triumph comes, in the common task of restoring peace and of assuring mankind to live in freedom.

TO JOHN CURTIN, PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA :

IT IS five and a half years ago since our common enemy began his career of conquest and depredation by invading our country. But urged on by a boundless and insane ambition, he, a year ago today, marshaled his hosts southward and brought in their wake a trail of plunder and rapine. On this anniversary, the Chinese people and I send you and the Australian people our warm greetings and good wishes. Your country, by the heroic effort in mobilizing all your resources, has succeeded in checking the enemy at your door. The gallantry exhibited by your fighting men, wherever they have been engaged, has won the profound admiration of our Army and people. The successes which your arms have achieved are indeed reassuring to us who are fighting with you on the same front. I am more confident than ever that the day is not far distant when the Allied arms will triumph, thus opening a new era in which your people and ours may join hands in the common task of reconstructing the Pacific world on the basis of enduring peace.

TO MACKENZIE KING, PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA :

AS WE enter upon the second year of the Pacific War, I send you and the Canadian people my cordial greetings and those of the Chinese people and Army. On this anniversary, we take pride in greeting our Canadian ally who, through his astounding achievements not only on the field of battle, but also in the sphere of war production, has done so much to bring nearer the day of final victory over the forces of aggression.

Your unshakable determination not to sheathe your sword until the enemy is utterly crushed evokes an immediate response in our hearts. I have every confidence that, with the unity of purpose such as pervades our joint efforts, we shall overcome these evil forces and make possible the restoration of peace on an enduring basis to the end that mankind may again enjoy the blessings of liberty and justice.

A New World Order Built on Christian Love

An address to several hundred Allied military representatives and officers and men of the Allied armed forces stationed in the Chinese wartime capital, who were guests of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek at a Christmas Day program and tea party on December 25, 1942.

DECEMBER 25, 1942.

FELLOW COMRADES OF THE UNITED NATIONS:

TODAY is the birthday of Christ, a day of universal joy. I am quite sure that if you were in your own country, you would be able to celebrate Christmas in an even more festive mood. On my part, it is indeed a great pleasure and honor to have you join me in celebrating Christmas together.

Five years ago China, unprepared and under-equipped though she was, resolutely took up arms in defense of herself against the Japanese militarists. But it was my firm conviction from the very beginning of our resistance that the final victory would belong to us. It was also my belief that all democracies sooner or later would join hands in a common effort to exterminate brute force and deal a blow to the aggressor nations. Just as our ancients said that "those who are in the right will receive aid from many quarters while those in the wrong will find little sympathy," we now have thirty-one countries united in arms and fighting shoulder to shoulder for justice and peace. This proves the truth of the Chinese saying and proves also that my vision has come true.

The present world line-up may be said to be divided into two blocs. On the one side are aligned thirty-one peace- and justice-loving countries which, united in purpose, find their fighting power daily increasing as they struggle for the freedom and preservation of humanity. On the other side are grouped Germany, Italy and Japan, three ambitious totalitarian states which, bent on extending their territorial domains, have swallowed up weaker nations one

NEW WORLD ORDER BUILT ON CHRISTIAN LOVE

after another and which have cherished the ambition of partitioning the world.

But it must be noted that this Axis camp is fighting for an unjust cause and is solely guided by a policy of utter treachery, ruthlessness and barbarity. That being the case, how can they stand up against our Allied and righteous armies? Consequently, it is a foregone conclusion that the final defeat of the Axis bloc is inevitable, just as the ultimate triumph of the United Nations is a thing that admits of no doubt. The United Nations are fighting entirely for international justice and human freedom. This coincides with the principles of the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *San Min Chu I* and when translated into action, it will also mean the realization of the spirit of love of Christ.

It is my firm conviction that out of this war, the thirty-one United Nations will be able to re-establish the world on the basis of equality and mutual assistance and will also be able to build up a new world order of genuine peace and happiness. Such a new world order must be created on the foundation of "love" as preached by Christ. Therefore, at this Christmas, amidst the raging of a world conflict, I sincerely pray to Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, for the early arrival of our common victory so that the world may be delivered from the ruthless oppression of the three Axis countries, Germany, Italy and Japan, and that the conquered peoples now living under their domination may sooner obtain their liberation and freedom.

As the Commander-in-Chief of the China war theater, I wish the United Nations an early victory and our Allied officers and men happiness and good health.

New Treaties: New Responsibilities

A message to the people and the Army of China on the occasion of the signing of the Sino-American and the Sino-British treaties for the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights in China, January 11, 1943.

JANUARY 11, 1943.

ON OCTOBER 10 last year the United States and Great Britain voluntarily announced their relinquishment of the special rights they had long enjoyed in China under unequal treaties. Yesterday in Washington and in Chungking our Government signed new treaties of equality and reciprocity with these two nations.

Fellow-countrymen, just a century before the American and British announcements, the Manchu dynasty concluded the first of China's unequal treaties with foreign powers. By fifty years of revolutionary struggle and five and a half years of war and sacrifice, we have transformed an inglorious anniversary into an occasion of national rejoicing. Today marks a new epoch in China's history and today Britain and America have lighted a new light to guide man's progress on the road to equality and freedom for all peoples.

By their actions our allies have declared their basic war aim—to sustain the rule of human decency and human right—and have proved their high ideals and lofty purposes. From the United States we have received an especially gratifying, complete and unreserved agreement to the hopes and aspirations expressed by our Government. From the action of our allies every one of the United Nations must draw new courage for the fight. The aggressor nations may observe and doubt.

But we should all understand that freedom and independence are prizes to be won only by our own efforts. I have often said to you, my fellow-countrymen, "We must be self-reliant before we can be independent; we must be strong before we can be free." Before the Republic of China can be independent and free the nation must

be strong. Before our soldiers and our people can be worthy citizens of a China, independent and free, they must be self-reliant and ready for hard tasks. By abolition of the unequal treaties our national responsibility has only been increased. We should meet the new responsibility with a still keener resolve to do our duty.

This is no time for arrogant conceit or self-satisfaction with the little that has been accomplished already. If we fail to make China independent, free and strong, if the nation we build is impotent to do its share for the general welfare of mankind, then what we have gained will soon be lost. When the war ends our task will not be done. We must continue as we have begun or we shall sink back into dependency and our children and our children's children will live out their lives in bondage.

China's destiny, in truth, is the heavy burden which has been placed upon the shoulders of our generation. To safeguard the broad lands bequeathed to us by our forefathers, and to ensure to our posterity, liberty and well-being, we must resolve this day to acquit ourselves loyally with self-reliance, without shirking, and in harmony with one another.

We can see already the first signs of coming victory in this world war against world aggression. The time of the enemy's defeat is near at hand. There are some who assume that China's destiny will be easily decided at the conference table after victory has come. There are others who believe that the outcome is certain and that China may easily participate in the fruits of future victory without present struggle. These men are wrong. The time to decide the destiny of our nation is now. The choice is plain before us. Are we to be masters in our own house or are we hereafter, as in the past, to obey the voice of others? At such a time there is no room for procrastination or lethargy or doubt. From this moment we must work still harder and bear without complaint still greater privations than we have done in the past five and a half years of war. There is no other way to succeed in the great task which fate has laid upon us.

Fellow-countrymen, until today we could rightly assert that unequal treaties with foreign powers had hindered and prevented our efforts to build a nation. The unequal treaties implanted among us disunity, economic backwardness and social chaos. They taught

our people a sense of inferiority which we could not overcome. They encouraged a mood of weak surrender by which too few were shamed. Even today we are without the self-confidence or moral courage which should be ours. But now that the unequal treaties have been abolished their influence is also gone. Henceforth, if we are weak, if we lack self-confidence, the fault will be ours only. Habits learned in the bad times of our nation's dependency may still survive. With one mind and one will we must weed them out and we must rally together around the standard of the Three Principles of the People to defeat our enemy and reconstruct the country that we love.

Success in our long struggle is at last in sight. Together we must go forward believing the teachings of the Father of the Republic, applying the Three Principles of the People and supporting our National Government. As one man we must do our duty, living the hard wartime life and doing all that is necessary to be done. As one man we must fight and as one man we must work to lay the foundation of the better China of the days of peace.

Fellow-countrymen, this is the period of our golden opportunity. It is our good fortune to see on this day the final casting off of the bonds of the past and to begin on this day a new and more hopeful stage on the long road to independence and freedom. As I urge you on this day to intensify your struggle, I urge you also to remember the best traditions of your nation in dealing with other nations friendly to China. Their citizens will now enjoy the protection of our laws. Toward them we must be friendly and courteous. Formerly what passed as friendliness and courtesy on our part was nothing but capitulation and humiliation. Now that the unequal treaties have been abrogated we are on an equal footing with Great Britain and the United States. An independent China has become a real friend of these two nations. In our relations with other people we Chinese have always been guided by the principles of propriety and righteousness. Therefore, in our future relations with friendly nations we should be more courteous and friendly than ever before. Look to the lessons of the past. Keep before you always the beacons of *Li*, *Yi*, *Lien* and *Ch'ih* (propriety, righteousness, integrity and humility). March forward with a common purpose until we can join our allies in building a better world as we have joined with one another to build a better nation.

NEW TREATIES: NEW RESPONSIBILITIES

Fellow-countrymen, I greet this memorable day with deep confidence and ardent hope. I pledge my utmost effort for the future as you must pledge yours. From the bottom of my heart I thank you all for your courage and endurance in these hard years. We have gone through much together, you and I.

I offer heartfelt tribute to the memory of the martyrs of our great cause and I salute the victory that is to come.

Long live the freedom and independence of the Republic of China.

Long live the success of our national revolution.

Long live the Three Principles of the People.

Our Spiritual Force

Message to the nation commemorating the ninth anniversary of the New Life Movement, broadcast on February 18, 1943.

FEBRUARY 18, 1943.

TODAY is the ninth anniversary of the New Life Movement. It arrives at a time when our new treaties with Great Britain and the United States have just been concluded. Our War of Resistance up to this date has written a new and glorious page in Chinese history. It has also helped to lay a permanent foundation for the rebirth of the Chinese nation.

We should realize that, in the establishment of an everlasting cornerstone for the regeneration of the Chinese nation, the most effective weapon, in addition to the military, political, economic, cultural and the various material forces, has been our spiritual force. The latter's forms are invisible but fundamental weapons and are embodied in the New Life Movement.

The New Life Movement is the fundamental motivating force of our armed resistance. It is also the fundamental basis for the realization of *San Min Chu I*. The main purpose behind my inauguration of the New Life Movement nine years ago today was to arouse my fellow-countrymen in defense against foreign aggression. The idea was first to reform our living habits and our way of thinking so that they might conform with our ancient virtues of propriety, justice, integrity and conscientiousness. In other words, the New Life Movement aims at encouraging every Chinese citizen to so renew and intensify his efforts that a new national consciousness and a spirit of fortitude may be born, and with this we may wipe out all national humiliations and create a country enjoying equality and freedom.

Thanks to the understanding of the purpose underlying the New Life Movement by the majority of my fellow-countrymen who, with one heart and mind, have marched forward toward the same goal,

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and, thanks to our nine years of hard and unceasing struggle, our national revolution has achieved the present initial stage of success. However, the fact remains that the New Life Movement has not yet been universally enforced, although the nation has generally recognized that the New Life Movement is significant and should be promoted. But, even with such subconscious recognition, the New Life Movement has willy-nilly wielded great influence and, if, henceforth, each and every one of us really observes the tenets of the New Life Movement, there is not the slightest doubt that our task of national reconstruction will be a success.

Consequently, on the ninth anniversary of the New Life Movement, my first thought is one of gratification and optimism. I am deeply convinced that the traditional spirit of the nation is still firmly entrenched in the heart of every Chinese and that, once aroused, its influence will be strongly felt.

The second thought I would like to share with you tonight is one of apprehension and caution for, although the unequal treaties have been abrogated, our national humiliations have not yet been completely wiped out. At this time, we should all remember that we must modernize our mode of living and our spirit before we can catch up with the times and consummate our task of national reconstruction. Consequently, the question that is uppermost in my mind now is that, although our country has achieved a position of equality, there are still many of my countrymen who fail to realize its significance. They are still careless about their living habits and are still ignorant of the fundamentals of orderliness and cleanliness. Some still indulge in fast living, in direct contravention of the principles of simplicity, and there are even some who, disregarding public welfare and order, have committed many disgraceful acts. If such vicious habits are not thoroughly corrected, how can we have a healthy society and how can our countrymen stand up to others? And, even if others respect our equality and treat us as equals, how can we ever hope to compete with them? Whenever I think of this, the thought occurs to me that every citizen should immediately wake up, examine his living habits and ask himself how far he has conformed to the tenets of the New Life Movement. Those who have practiced preachings of the New Life Movement should try

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to further better themselves and those who have ignored the principles of the New Life Movement should no longer delay.

In my broadcast to the nation on November 12 last year, I said that "only through self-reliance can we really be independent and only through self-strengthening can we really be free." A faithful observance of the New Life Movement is the starting point of self-reliance and self-strengthening. That being the case, it is my fervent hope that every citizen will, from now on in his attitude toward men and toward things in general and in his speech and action, adhere to the principles of the New Life Movement. They should guide themselves by the virtues of propriety, justice, integrity and conscientiousness and their speech and actions should conform to the highest modern international standards.

For this reason, it is my conviction that the promotion of the New Life Movement henceforth should be more of a positive and universal character. Furthermore, the New Life Movement should be manifested in a concrete way before it can meet with the present day needs of the State and the nation. Consequently, I will deviate from my past practice of naming on each anniversary a few items of work as the central activities of the New Life Movement of the year. Instead, I will read the full text of the outline of the New Life Movement to my fellow-countrymen with the hope that it will lead them to self-examination and mutual admonition. Only by exerting joint efforts and universally observing the principles of the New Life Movement can we then consider ourselves as modern citizens of a country that has concluded new and equal treaties and help fortify our country's equal position. And only thus may we console the spirits of the Father of the Republic and the armed forces and civilians who have sacrificed their lives for the cause of the national revolution and armed resistance.

(The outline of the New Life Movement consists of five parts and a conclusion. The first part explains the significance of the movement, which may be likened to the social regeneration of China. The second section answers three questions: What is life? What is new life, and what is the New Life Movement? The third part gives the object of the movement, explaining why a new life and a New Life Movement are needed. Then come the contents of the movement. The New Life Movement aims at the promotion of a

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regular life guided by the four virtues of "*Li*," "*I*," "*Lien*," and "*Chih*." "*Li*" means regulated attitude, mind as well as heart or behavior. "*I*" means right conduct in all things for justice. "*Lien*" means clear discrimination, honesty in personal, public and official life, or integrity. "*Chih*" means real self-consciousness and self-respect or honor. These four virtues must be applied to ordinary matters such as food, clothing, shelter and actions. They are essential for the promotion of morality. From these rules one learns how to deal with men and matters, how to cultivate one's self and how to adjust one's self to surroundings. The fifth section explains the procedure of the New Life Movement, including organization, work and activities. The conclusion explains the results to be expected from following the movement.)

My countrymen should realize that the New Life Movement is a form of self-education and is also a kind of mass training. It is the peacetime standard of our living habits and it is, at the same time, the mode of wartime living. As to the principles of the New Life Movement and their application to food, clothing, shelter and actions, they have been clearly set forth in the outline of the New Life Movement and in my statements and speeches rendered in the past and I am sure that my countrymen have understood the essence of it.

Our ancients said, "Important achievements can be expected in 10 years' time." Now that the New Life Movement has entered its tenth year, now that our victory is approaching and now that our national equality has been definitely achieved, I hope that my countrymen will evince a sense of self-respect and will jointly shoulder the responsibility of pushing the New Life Movement so that greater accomplishments may be attained within this year, thereby promoting the welfare of, and creating glory for, the nation.

To the People of Thailand

A message to the armed forces and people of Thailand, broadcast from Chungking on February 26, 1943.

FEBRUARY 26, 1943.

SOLDIERS AND CITIZENS OF THAILAND:

SINCE December 11, 1941, when Thailand signed an agreement of alliance with Japan I have held my peace toward you. I should have spoken sooner in view of the fact that Thailand, a close neighbor of ours, has entered into alliance with a country which is at war with China. I have, however, not spoken because I fully understood the difficult situation in which your country found itself at that time. I realized your difficulties then because I knew that your circumstances were not unlike those China faced before we took up arms against the Japanese aggression in 1937.

But now the whole situation is different from what it was. The world-wide struggle is now gradually entering upon a decisive stage. Despite the increasing efforts of the Japanese militarists to oppress you and force you to fight for them, the Axis countries are being compelled in Europe as well as in Asia to pass from the offensive to the defensive and are suffering repeated defeats everywhere. The day for you to save your own country is drawing near while the practical condition under which you lived last year has now completely changed. I want, therefore, to speak to you in all frankness in order to help you appreciate China's feeling toward you and the fundamental principle that guides China's destiny and our war policy.

1. China's feeling toward Thailand. As a matter of historical fact, Sino-Thai relations have continued for more than one thousand years. We have no fewer than three million compatriots living within your borders. We have always considered Thailand a sister country of China. Every Chinese feels keenly the close ties and interdependence between China and Thailand. Every Chinese wishes Thailand peace and prosperity. The Chinese people

TO THE PEOPLE OF THAILAND

have never allowed your actions in recent years to affect their traditional friendship toward Thailand, for the Chinese Government and people are wide awake to the nature of the Japanese-Thai alliance which, brought about by Japanese force, was no expression of the free will of the Thai soldiers and citizens themselves. I earnestly hope that the Thai Army and people will note such Chinese friendship in its true perspective. I can assure you that China's friendship thus respected by the Thai Army and people will never change.

2. The fundamental principle that guides China's destiny. China's faith as a nation is based upon Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles. All nations of the world should, according to the Three People's Principles, be free and equal. Such a faith for which China stands, therefore, calls for freedom and equality for all nations. It was with this faith that China signed with twenty-five other countries in Washington on January 1, 1942, a joint declaration dedicating ourselves to the liberation of all the nations in captivity under Japan, Germany and other Axis countries in order that they might have political independence restored to them. I can, therefore, give my solemn word that China, as well as her allies, has no territorial ambitions in Thailand and harbors no intentions of undermining her sovereignty and independence. This will continue to be true in the future as it has been in the past. The Thais, however, should recognize the fact that their territory is now practically under Japanese occupation, their people enslaved and their sovereignty and independence violated by the Japanese, while the territory and freedom of Thailand can only be restored to her through the victory of China and her allies.

3. China's war policy. With the armed forces and people of Thailand under the forcible subjugation of the Japanese, we consider Thailand in our war policy merely as enemy-occupied territory not as an enemy territory. It is, therefore, the Japanese war machine, not the army and people of Thailand, that we consider our objective. China and her allies will deal crushing blows to the enemy once our offensive is launched. The Japanese in Thailand and the adjacent territories are to be expected at the same time to do their utmost in an attempt to postpone their fate. Under such war conditions, every day that the Japanese are able to hold out in Thailand will inevitably result in increasing sacrifices for the innocent Thai people.

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The Thai Army and people should, under such circumstances, oppose the Japanese forces through positive action while co-operating with the Chinese Armies and fighting shoulder to shoulder with them to put the enemy out of China and Thailand as well. This is what all patriotic soldiers and citizens of Thailand should do for their own country, for East Asia and for the world in general. We are justified in expecting them to do so.

This war is, in short, a struggle between the anti-aggression forces and the aggressors, between right and might, between light and darkness. While we deeply appreciate your difficult circumstances in the past we earnestly expect you now to do your duty promptly for the salvation of your own country and the world at large. We hope you understand and value the brotherly feeling of the Chinese people for you. We hope you will regain with loyal and courageous acts of patriotism the international good faith your country once enjoyed, and achieve the right to speak for your country in the post-war family of nations.

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**China Fights On To Victory
(1943-1945)**

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Six Years of Sacrifices

*A message to the nation on the sixth anniversary
of the War of Resistance, July 7, 1943.*

JULY 7, 1943.

TODAY is the sixth anniversary of our War of Resistance. The military situation as a whole is even brighter now and our final victory is further assured. At the same time our responsibility is unprecedentedly heavier. After six years of sacrifices and bloodshed we should seize upon this most crucial period, redouble our efforts and intensify our struggle before we can reap the rewards for our sacrifices and console the spirits of our martyrs. Then only can we live up to the expectation of our allies, achieve the final victory and contribute to world peace.

The past year was the decisive year in the present World War. The resistance put up by our armed forces and civilians has forced the Japanese invaders to exhaust much of their resources and has forced them to retain a great part of their armed strength in the Pacific theater. At the same time our armed resistance has made it possible for our allies to carry out satisfactorily their production programs and to strengthen their fighting power in the various war theaters. As a result the Nazi invader, following his defeat in the Battle of Stalingrad, suffered a debacle in North Africa. The clean up of the Axis forces in North Africa was of the utmost importance to the entire war situation, for from now on the lines of transportation between the Allies in the East and the West will be kept open without interruption and the European and Asiatic war theaters will be merged into one. At the same time it will mean that the Axis in the West will be isolated from the Japanese invader in the East. As things now stand, the initiative in the different theaters of war has passed into the hands of the Allied military power, economic strength and war production are daily increasing. Henceforth the aggressor has no alternative but to await his doom. There is no longer any possibility of his making further sneak attacks and the

time limit for his utter defeat cannot exceed two years.

Let us take a look at the present conditions of the Japanese invader. Militarily, on land he has been mired down in the China theater with no hope of extricating himself. On sea his naval force is weak and the losses of warcraft and transports are particularly heavy. Over an 8,000-mile front there is no place which is not feeling the increased pressure of the Allied offensive. The Japanese invader can only defend a few isolated islands and once the Allies launch a simultaneous attack on his positions his painful experience on Attu Island, in which the entire enemy garrison was wiped out, will be repeated elsewhere.

From an economic standpoint, now that some of his former sources of raw materials have been cut off it is even more difficult for him to solve his material deficiencies in Japan proper. A sharp curtailment of his rural production has resulted in a food shortage. There is no better illustration of his plight than to recall the main theme of discussion during the recent extraordinary session of the Diet. Under the so-called "Industrial Readjustment Bills" he has completely abandoned several industries for which strong foundations have been laid and has gone as far as closing down several iron foundries, steel mills and coal mines so that the machinery may be turned into scrap to feed his munitions industry. This reflects the helpless state of his airplane and ship-building industries.

And if we analyze his "political strategy" we can detect its many pitfalls. At an extraordinary session of the Diet Tojo shamelessly talked about the "liberation of the East Asiatic races" and the "independence and self-rule of the East Asiatic nations"—Tojo even went as far as granting the Philippines independence within this year. This merely reflected the intensity of the resistance to Japanese oppression in the occupied areas making it necessary for Tojo to make false promises in an effort to soften up the animosity entertained toward the invader. The fact of the matter remains that the invader's ruthlessness in the occupied areas has become common knowledge. The Japanese enslavement has not been taken for liberation and the people in the occupied areas have not the slightest doubt but that the Allies will win the final victory. Furthermore the extraordinary session also reflected the apprehension, the defeatist attitude and the war-weariness of the Japanese people.

SIX YEARS OF SACRIFICES

The armed forces and civilians of the nation should not forget for a moment the sufferings of our compatriots in the occupied areas. During the past year a great number of women, the old and the weak have been either massacred or violated. Even those who have escaped such a fate found their property and their land in danger of being confiscated at any moment. Thousands of able-bodied male adults have been pressed into hard labor or military service. Farm land has been forcibly turned into opium poppy plantations. Agricultural production has decreased and whatever rice and wheat surpluses there were have been reserved exclusively for the invading army. Nevertheless, compatriots—including young students—were unable to obtain rice or wheat and had to subsist on a mixture of rice husks, sawdust and fruit peels. Many have thus either died of starvation or of disease.

In view of all this, there should be more reason why we should realize the gravity of our responsibility. I would like to point out to the armed forces and civilians of the nation that in the seventh year of our War of Resistance offensives that will deal crushing blows to the enemy will be started in the various theaters of the world and that there will be an unending stream of victories. But we must constantly ask ourselves the question—how much responsibility have we borne for the country and the world and how much have we discharged of our duty toward the State? Of our final victory there isn't the slightest doubt. It hinges only on whether our fighting spirit can fit in with the decisive stage of the war. In other words, it depends on whether the armed forces and the civilians as a whole will remain as determined as ever to avenge the wrongs that have been done us and whether they can endure hardships that will be even greater than those they have gone through in the last six years which form the last hurdle to final victory.

Since the commencement of the Sino-Japanese hostilities the Japanese invader has been fabricating stories of a military and economic collapse. That was just his illusion because of his presumption that for a country as militarily and economically unprepared as ours prolonged resistance was an impossibility. Consequently for six years he has been manufacturing such propaganda in an effort to undermine our will to resist and to undermine the confidence of our allies in us. Never has he dreamed that we would

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fight on for six years and that in the course of the last six years he has been dragged down deeper into a quagmire. And now although he is struggling hard to free himself from the quagmire in order that he may carry out his ambition of dominating the world he no longer is free to commit other crimes. Our armed resistance front and our fighting spirit have remained unshaken. Not only that but our will to resist becomes stronger as we fight on. This is the most fatal blow to him in the present World War and is at the same time the one factor that causes him the greatest discomfort and regret. If by so doing we can hold back such a demon from the world even if we endure sacrifices and sufferings ten times our present sacrifices and sufferings it will be a contribution well worth the price. The past six years of our resistance have proven that the Chinese people are a most tenacious, brave and persevering race. That is why we have won the respect of our allies and that is why we have been able to conclude new and equal treaties. We should value our achievements and should at the same time complete our unfinished great task.

Our officers and men in the different war zones should realize the high hopes placed in them by their own people and by the Allies. They should fight on even better and score even greater victories. But the increase of fighting strength and the achievement of victories also depend on the increased war effort of the people. That being the case our main task at present is to strengthen and develop our national economy. This is the fundamental duty of the entire citizenry. For a country like ours, whose Nationalist Revolution was not yet consummated and whose economic reconstruction was without foundation, to engage in such an unprecedented long term war the many difficulties such as what we have encountered were not unexpected. Compared to the life of the Japanese people, the life of our people cannot be said to be too hard. As a matter of fact, our people should be prepared to undergo further hardships for only through enduring hardships can the War of Resistance be continued and only through enduring hardships can the task of national reconstruction be carried into realization.

China's economic problems have their own characteristics. The present economic maladjustments are caused by our failure to overcome the special defects in our economic fabric. As a matter of fact, for a country with such vast territory and rich resources as ours there

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absolutely is no danger of any shortage of clothing material and food—two of our basic needs. As long as our Government and our people co-operate together under an organized plan to increase production and to cut down on nonessentials there is no reason why our wartime economic problems cannot be solved. In one word, our strong economic points should be brought into bold relief while our inherent economic weaknesses should be removed. We should work harder, as we have never worked before, and we should economize as we have never economized before. We should thoroughly observe all laws and regulations pertaining to economic control and we should one and all observe a wartime life. We should realize that only when our wartime economic foundation is made secure can we expect to reap the full results of our six years of dogged resistance.

Our War of Resistance and the World War situation on this day have reached the highest peak in our upward struggle—one step beyond will be smooth sailing for us. On the other hand, the present marks the beginning of our greatest trials. The Father of our Republic once said that fortitude is the surest road to success. On this day, therefore, my countrymen must brace themselves, defy all hardships, concentrate their will and exert their utmost whereby China may join hands with other members of the anti-aggression camp in negotiating the hardest stretch of the road to victory.

To the Peoples of the United Nations

The second of two messages delivered on the sixth anniversary of China's war, July 7, 1943.

JULY 7, 1943.

TODAY China is observing her sixth war anniversary. Through the past six years you—the peoples of the United Nations—have shown China profound and sustained sympathy for her War of Resistance. It is this sympathy which has given infinite encouragement to our Army and people. It is this sympathy too which, together with the heavy blows inflicted upon the enemy by our Army and people, has helped directly or indirectly to create the present bonds of solidarity among the United Nations and a fitting foundation for their post-war co-operation.

As early as 1931, following Japan's invasion of Manchuria, I held that Japan's aggression would not be confined to China but would ultimately plunge the entire world into war. However, I held even more firmly that in the end Japan's aggression could not but arouse all the progressive forces in the world and that its result would be the formation of a grand coalition of all peace-loving nations. These predictions of eleven years ago have been substantiated with remarkable accuracy by what happened since then. On this sixth war anniversary it is certainly an outstanding source of gratification and gratitude to me that you—the peoples of the United Nations—have not failed us. Together with our Army and people, I wish to pay our respects to the gallant soldiers and peoples of the United Nations.

Exactly one and a half years have elapsed since we became allies. At the beginning of the period the United Nations indeed suffered a number of reverses, but China has always had undiminished faith in the ultimate victory of the United Nations. During the past year this faith has grown stronger than ever. Clearly the military position of the United Nations now enjoys unquestioned superiority over that of the enemy. Your productive power has

surpassed that of the enemy by a very broad margin. You are now in possession of the key to initiative action and capable of launching large-scale offensives simultaneously in Europe and Asia.

A year ago today I said, "In the next few months the tide of the war may turn more unfavorably for the Allies but that will be only for a brief period." True to my anticipation, the fortunes of the war turned in our favor with the advent of the winter when victories were scored by the Soviet Army in eastern Europe, by the Anglo-American forces in North Africa, by American and Australian forces in the South Pacific, by the American forces in the North Pacific and by our own Army who, with the splendid support of the United States Air Force, inflicted crushing blows on the Japanese in northern Hunan and western Hupeh. These happy auguries have further strengthened the confidence of our Army and people in the ultimate victory of the Allies.

What describes the mind of the Chinese people is not whether the United Nations will win the war but when they are going to win it and at what price. The unique position Japan is occupying today deserves the utmost attention from all of us. In one sense she is at her weakest as her ready resources are approaching a point of exhaustion. Not only is she lagging behind the Allies in planes and ships but her program for industrial readjustment as adopted at the recent extraordinary Diet session has not yet begun. In another sense, however, Japan is making desperate efforts to consolidate her conquests with a view to replenishing her war potential. She is doing everything she can in the South Seas, in Burma and in the occupied territory of China to exploit manpower and resources. She is rebuilding defense works on land and sea. She is constructing new harbors and fortifications. With expanding railways and highways she expects to improve overland traffic on the Continent and to offset her shipping shortages. The shipbuilding program for 1943, if allowed to be carried out, would increase her building capacity by one-third. Industries and resources in the South Seas previously destroyed by scorched earth tactics are being revived. Once this far-reaching program of reconstruction is completed Japan would be far stronger than at the time she first conquered these lands. Consequently the present is the most opportune moment for the Allies to launch large-scale offensives against Japan which

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are bound to reap great results within a relatively short span of time.

Just as Germany vainly hopes for dissension among the United Nations Japan is praying that the United Nations delay their big offensive against her. Should we let her have further respite to proceed with her program thus enabling her to complete impregnable defenses and to wage a long-drawn-out war with us the time and price the Allies will have to pay to defeat her will be many times longer and heavier than what are required today.

Recently President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill had agreed that from now on the United Nations will "wage the war on the Japanese and European fronts with equal power." This is the most appropriate strategy for the United Nations. In the execution of this strategy our allies can count upon the determination of the Chinese Army to contribute whatever is in their power and to make whatever sacrifices necessary so that they may shoulder their full share of the joint task. During the past year, although the Japanese completely blockaded our land and sea routes and although our men had to fight with limited equipment, our Army not only frustrated all Japanese attempts at further penetration but in some instances inflicted severe blows on the enemy. No amount of malicious propaganda on the part of the enemy can falsify the magnificent morale of our fighting men. I can say for certain that once the Allies launch their big offensive against Japan the spirit of our fighting men will be aroused to still greater heights of valor and courage. The people of China fervently hope that you—and particularly the leaders of public opinion in your countries—will unanimously uphold this strategy so that it will be carried out without delay and without reservation.

With the adoption and enforcement of this strategy the war will enter its final stage. We must therefore pay our attention to the winning of the ensuing peace. Whether we are going to win that peace depends largely upon whether the United Nations—especially the United States, Soviet Russia, Great Britain and China who are bearing the major burdens of the war—could before the end of the war reach a complete agreement of policy and build a concrete foundation for post-war co-operation.

The Joint Declaration of the United Nations indeed has laid down the broad principles regarding this vital question. In this

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connection China has a number of hopes. Firstly, this war should not be concluded as a "negotiated peace." This means that when our enemies in Europe and in Asia are defeated they must accept unconditionally the terms of the United Nations. The evil seeds of aggression in their traditions and creeds as well as in their political and economic institutions must be uprooted. It is common knowledge that since the latter part of the last century Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia repeatedly started aggressive wars. If we trace Japan's conduct in China further back through the last six hundred years we find almost countless instances of aggression. There is no reason for us to expect a defeated Germany or a defeated Japan at the conclusion of this war to get rid of its instinct for aggression or to be capable of setting up a government which we can trust. Any "negotiated peace" will sow the seeds for another world war. The fact that the leaders of the United Nations have clearly avowed their determination to fight until the unconditional surrender of Japan, Germany and Italy is a source of deepest gratification to the Chinese people.

Secondly, the future peace should be a peace seeking the emancipation of entire mankind. After the war the independent nations that have been occupied by the enemy must certainly regain their independence. As to the peoples under the rule of the enemy or otherwise still having not attained complete freedom, we must likewise help them to be emancipated. The relative speed of emancipation may have to vary in accordance with different cultural levels of different peoples but it is imperatively desirable that the same principles apply in the emancipation of all peoples. This is another vital point on which I hope the United Nations will reach a thorough understanding prior to the conclusion of the war.

Thirdly, the United Nations should set up at the earliest possible moment a joint machinery for the winning of the peace as well as for the efficient prosecution of the war. It is contended in certain quarters that the creation of such a body might cause friction among the Allied Powers and thus hinder the prosecution of the war. But differences of opinion, if any, can in no time be better dissolved than when we are fighting a war shoulder to shoulder. I believe that to set up such a machinery will not only help to unify the strategy and policies of the United Nations

but will lay a firm foundation for post-war co-operation. A perfect understanding between nations just as a perfect friendship between men takes root when the parties concerned are helping one another through difficulty.

Fourthly, to safeguard international justice and collective security and to ensure the successful functioning of democratic governments after the war there must be a post-war world organization with the solid backing of an international force. The greatest practical weakness of the democratic nations vis-à-vis the aggressor nations lies in the fact that for the former to move from a peacetime to wartime basis a considerable period of time will necessarily be taken up by legislation and debates among political parties. As a result the aggressor nations enjoy infinite advantage by launching surprise attacks in the meantime. In view of such apparent handicaps in the democratic system of government a strong post-war world organization is the prerequisite for the successful functioning of democracy and to create a strong post-war organization an international force is absolutely necessary.

Every Chinese eagerly awaits the day when we shall have a full democracy built on the Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. But since Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931 over a decade of grim experience has led everyone to realize that with a strong militaristic and aggressive power as a neighbor our path to full democracy is most arduous and difficult. I will say out of my own painful experience that a strong world organization after the war is a patent necessity. It is through the creation of such an organization alone that the world's nations may proceed amidst peace and security with their reconstruction, that the democratic system of government may triumph and that aggressor nations may not rise again.

We—the peoples of the United Nations—know that this war is one between good and evil, between right and wrong, between justice and brutal force. The Chinese people can conceive of no other outcome than the complete triumph for the righteous and freedom-loving democracies. The destiny of China is one and the same with that of the United Nations—so is China's policy. Our Army and people will employ their full strength to fight against our immediate lawful enemy. We will contribute our share in

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such a manner as to get the maximum efficiency for the war as a whole. China has been longest in the war. Six years have brought us immense distress and privation and there are still hardships ahead of us but it is my firm belief that you—the peoples of the United Nations—will continue to give sympathy and support to China. Our people will fight on until the unconditional surrender of our common enemy. Long live the United Nations! Long live China!

A Political Problem

Instructions for the settlement of the problem of the Chinese Communist Party delivered at the September 13, 1943, meeting of the Eleventh Session of the Fifth Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee of the Kuomintang.

SEPTEMBER 13, 1943.

AFTER hearing the secretariat's report on the question of the Chinese Communist Party and the views expressed by various members of the Central Executive Committee I am of the opinion that first of all we should clearly recognize that the Chinese Communist problem is a purely political problem and should be solved by political means. Such ought to be the guiding principle for the Plenary Session in its effort to settle this matter. If you share my views you should maintain the policy of leniency and forbearance which we have consistently pursued in dealing with our domestic affairs with the expectation that the Chinese Communist Party will be moved by our sincerity and magnanimity no matter in what way they may slander us nor in what manner they may try to create trouble.

In spite of provocations we should abide by the manifesto of the Tenth Plenary Session: "In the case of those who sincerely believe in the Three People's Principles, obey laws and orders, do not hinder prosecution of the war, do not attempt to upset social order and do not seize our national territory in defiance of Government decrees, the Central Government would overlook their past record either in thought or in deed and should respect their opportunities, be they individuals or political groups, to serve the country." We should, now as ever, continue to be tolerant in strict conformity with the manifesto and earnestly expect the Communist Party eventually to realize and correct their errors. We should make it clear that the Central Government does not have any particular

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demand to make on the Chinese Communist Party but hopes that it will abandon its policy of forcibly occupying our national territory and give up its past tactics of assaulting National Government troops in various sectors, thus obstructing the prosecution of the war.

We also hope that the Chinese Communist Party will redeem its pledge made in its declaration of 1937 and fulfill the four promises solemnly announced in that document: "(1) To struggle for the realization of the Three People's Principles; (2) To abandon the policy of overthrowing the Kuomintang regime by force, give up the Communist movement and discard the policy of confiscating land by force; (3) To dissolve the present government organization and, by carrying into practice the principles of democracy, thus help to bring about the political unity of the whole nation; (4) To disband the Red Army by incorporating it into the National Army under the direct command of the Military Council of the National Government. The troops thus reorganized will await orders to move to the front to undertake the tasks of fighting the enemy."

If the Chinese Communist Party can prove its good faith by making good its promises the Central Government, taking note of its sincerity and loyalty in carrying on our War of Resistance, will once more treat it with sympathy and consideration so that we may accomplish hand in hand the great task of Resistance and Reconstruction.

The State of the Nation

An address delivered at the inaugural session of the second convention of the Third People's Political Council in Chungking on September 18, 1943.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1943.

THE second convention of the Third People's Political Council opens today, which marks the twelfth anniversary of the Mukden outrage on September 18, 1931. As we recall the humiliations our nation has endured during these twelve years and the untold misery and agony of our fellow-countrymen in the Northeast we should offer to them our heartfelt sympathy. On the tenth anniversary of the Mukden outrage commemorated on September 18, 1941, I plainly stated, "Our sacred resistance will not end until the lost territory of our Northeast is fully recovered and the liberty of our fellow-countrymen there is regained. The people of the Northeast constitute an integral part and individual section of the Chinese nation, just as the Four Northeastern Provinces constitute an integral and individual part of China's sovereign territory. Our War of Resistance aims at preserving the independence of the Chinese people and the territorial sovereignty of the Chinese nation. This implies nothing short of the recovery of the territorial and sovereign rights of her Northeast and the effacing of the insults and humiliations inflicted on us since September 18, 1931." This has consistently been our policy and determination. Military developments at present are bringing us closer to the attainment of our aim. We are more confident than ever in our ability to regain all our lost territory in the Northeast and we will begrudge no sacrifice which the consummation of this task may entail.

Ten and a half months have elapsed since the last convention of the People's Political Council. During the period of recess all resident members have discharged their responsibilities in a manner

which has won the admiration of their fellow citizens. I am confident that all of you who are gathered at this convention will be able to make invaluable contributions in advancing the fundamental policies of the Government for the continuation of resistance and the progress of the national reconstruction program. The Government has published the general principles of its program for 1944 and they will be brought up at this convention for deliberation. Now let me make a brief report on the major points in the program of Resistance and Reconstruction.

First I want to speak on military affairs. Since the winter of 1942, the forces of the United Nations have gained the initiative and have scored brilliant successes in every theater of war, while the Axis aggressors have met with reverses. Recently the arch-Fascist, Mussolini, faded from the Axis picture and the entire navy of Italy surrendered. Vast forces of our anti-aggression war and the fronts have been linked. The safety of sea-borne traffic through the Mediterranean has considerably shortened the Allied route for the movement of troops and supplies. Part of the Allied naval forces can now be shifted to the Far East. Broadly speaking, the capitulation of the Italian Navy determines Japan's ultimate doom.

Through more than six years of resistance, China, on her 4,000-kilometer front, has immobilized more than 30 enemy divisions. Now is the time for us to co-ordinate our efforts with those of our allies in launching an all-front counter-offensive to bring our fight—for which we have made much sacrifice during the last six years—to a successful conclusion. It is hoped that you will all urge citizens of the country to do their part morally and exert their utmost so that the ultimate triumph may be achieved.

Next I wish to touch upon international relations. The conclusion of the new Sino-British and Sino-American treaties of equality have been major events since the adjournment of the last convention of the People's Political Council. During the past six months, many of our friendly nations have indicated their readiness to abrogate their old treaties, which entitled them to special privileges in China, and conclude new treaties. All nations of the world which love peace and uphold justice have shown us increasing friendliness and a spirit of intimate co-operation.

It follows as a matter of course that our relations with Britain,

the United States, the U.S.S.R. and other United Nations will be placed on a closer and more solid basis. The ever-growing spirit of co-operation and mutual helpfulness is especially evident in the co-ordination of war effort. In this way we shall surely win both complete victory and lasting peace—of this there can be no doubt.

With regard to economic affairs we must try to seek wartime economic stability and plan for post-war reconstruction. At the last session of the P.P.C., I introduced the plan for the control of commodity prices which was unanimously adopted. Accordingly, economic mobilization committees were established in various places, and under their supervision members of the People's Political Council in those districts have assisted the Government in the enforcement of the control measures. Of course, there can be no denying the fact that much is left to be desired in the carrying out of price-control measures, but you can be assured of the Government's determination to persevere in the enforcement of the program and improvement in price control in the light of experiences gained in the various districts. I hope you will give this matter your serious study and assist in the implementation of the measures.

The execution of the post-war economic reconstruction program requires adequate preparation in war time. To industrialize China and to achieve the stupendous task of building her into a great nation, we must carry out Dr. Sun Yat-sen's industrial program. However, the completion of China's economic reconstruction vitally concerns the security and happiness of the whole world. A total of 22,000,000 square kilometers of land on the continent of Asia remains to be developed. This is approximately equal to the area of North Africa. The western and northern parts of China constitute one-third of this great expanse of virgin land. If the untapped resources and the unharnessed power in this vast area are fully developed and utilized they will contribute immensely to the happiness of mankind and the improvement of the economic outlook of the world. In the southeastern part of China, where the world has one of its largest markets, a great wealth of resources may also be found. This fact is too well known to need further comment.

After upwards of six years of resistance the Northwest and Southwest of our country, with a well-balanced development of

heavy and light industries, both state-operated and private, are becoming more prosperous. We feel that in planning for post-war economic reconstruction we should place equal emphasis upon our own exertions and international co-operation. The scope of this program should be decided upon in war time. I hope you will give this program serious consideration and promote it.

Lastly, I wish to report to you on the matter relating to the early realization of a constitutional government. It has been the consistent policy of the National Government to promote democratic rule and hasten the advent of constitutionalism. Ever since July 1938, when the People's Political Council held its first meeting, the Government has repeatedly indicated this view and the People's Political Council on its part has made constructive proposals. The Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang at its Eleventh Plenary Session adopted a resolution calling for the convocation of a People's National Congress within one year after the conclusion of war when a permanent constitution is to be adopted and promulgated. The date for the constitution to become effective will be decided upon by the Congress. In the general principles of the Government program for 1944 which was adopted by the Eleventh Plenary Session, it was stipulated that those *hsien* (county) in the various provinces in the rear which have not yet set up their *hsien* councils should do so within a year. The Government will do everything within its power to carry out the local self-government system and complete preparations for the convocation of the People's National Congress in strict adherence to the program.

The drafting of a permanent constitution is a great responsibility that admits of no slovenliness despite the need for hastening its progress. Efforts must be accelerated to overcome the obstacles in the way. It is my ardent hope that all members of the People's Political Council will help direct various representative bodies of the people in the work of promoting local self-government so that true constitutionalism may begin as soon as victory is won.

The People and the State

Thirty-second National Anniversary message delivered on October 10, 1943, the day of his inauguration as President of the Republic of China.

OCTOBER 10, 1943.

TODAY marks the thirty-second anniversary of the founding of the Republic of China. On this day every year we recall China's glorious past with great rejoicing and animation. It is on such an auspicious occasion today that I assumed the post of President of the National Government. At a time when China's war defense is entering into a decisive stage and national reconstruction is begun in all earnestness, her military and economic machinery is to be strengthened and home administration and foreign relations are to be developed. In the circumstances, I feel ever more the weightiness of my responsibility and I shudder at the thought of the great task which falls upon my shoulders.

As early as thirty-two years ago Dr. Sun Yat-sen laid down the policy for building up the Republic of China. In regard to foreign relations, it provides that China "should fulfill the obligations and enjoy the rights of a civilized nation" and "should foster closer relations with friendly nations on the principle of peace with a view to elevating China's position in the family of nations and realizing the ideal of universal brotherhood." In regard to home administration, it aims at "welding together the territories of the Hans, Manchus, Mongols, Muslims and Tibetans into one country and linking them into one nation" and also as "firmly establishing a republican form of government, improving the people's livelihood and fulfilling the high aspirations of the Nation through the consummation of the Revolution." The titanic struggle we are now engaged in is consistently in pursuance of this policy.

Internally we strive for the realization of local autonomy

throughout the country, consolidation of national unity, establishment of government by law and consummation of the democratic rule. Externally we seek to cultivate closer relations with our friendly nations, to win the war against aggression and to collaborate with our allies in establishing permanent world peace after the war. By self-exertion as well as by international collaboration we also endeavor to develop our rich natural resources, to carry out economic reconstruction and to enhance the well-being of mankind. Since we concluded new treaties with Great Britain and the United States last January on the basis of equality, our ideal of national independence and equality may well be said to have been realized. After the realization of the Principle of Nationalism, we shall have to carry out the Principles of Democracy and People's Livelihood. To this end we should bring forth the will and strength of the people. All our fellow-countrymen, therefore, should thoroughly understand the significance implied in the following bequeathed teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen:

"The people form the foundation of the State."

"The welfare of the people hinges upon the State."

We should bear in mind the close relations between the people and the State. We should also realize that practicing the Principle of Democracy is the basic task of our national reconstruction. The Plenary Session of the Central Executive and Supervisory Committees of the Kuomintang has just adopted the resolution to convene the People's National Congress within one year after the conclusion of the war, and to promulgate a constitution. I wish now to explain how we should exert ourselves for the realization of the Principle of Democracy and the establishment of democratic government.

As far back as three thousand years ago when writing was invented in China, there were already manifestations of democratic ideas. The Kao Yao Mu in the Shu Ching (Book of History) says: "The wisdom of Heaven is reflected by the wisdom of the people and the judgment of Heaven is based upon the judgment of the people."

Confucius says: "Love what the people love and hate what the people hate." Mencius says: "The people are to be valued." All these ancient maxims are the source of the democratic thought and the crystallization of the Chinese traditional spirit. It is in this ancient and profound civilization that Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Principle of Democracy originated.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's program of revolution has as its objective the awakening and rallying of the people to join this common struggle. The significance of his Principle of Democracy lies in the investment of political rights in the people. In other words, its ultimate goal is to make all the people responsible for State affairs. In view of the grand achievement by only a handful of patriots in the Chinese Revolution in 1911, China's remarkable progress is assured when, upon the complete realization of the Principle of Democracy, the 450,000,000 Chinese will jointly shoulder the heavy responsibilities of the country.

However, there is an important prerequisite to the realization of the Principle of Democracy. The democratic spirit lies in the observance of law and discipline. Failure in this will undermine the foundation of the democratic system and endanger the Republic. Therefore, it is imperative that our citizens should grasp fully the true meaning of freedom and government by law and cultivate the good habit of respecting freedom and observing law and discipline. Only thus can a solid foundation of democracy be laid. We should not evade, but fulfill, all obligations prescribed by law and, of course, at the same time enjoy equally rights and privileges as provided by law.

If China wants to continue to exist as a nation in this world, we should one and all form the law-abiding habit. We should consider it an honor to respect and observe law and a disgrace to violate and undermine it. Neither should we work for selfish ends under the pretext of freedom nor evade our responsibilities and find excuses for neglecting our duties as citizens. Just as government officials should loyally perform their duties, so should all the people jointly share the responsibilities and do their part. Only thus can China attain true equality.

As a public servant, I will from today work unswervingly for the welfare of the nation in the same spirit of patriotism as before.

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If I should ever transgress the limit of my power, it is the duty of every citizen to censure and correct me. I will observe all laws and respect public opinion in order to set an example of democratic rule in China.

Now that our ultimate victory is in sight and a great future for China is dawning, I will strive for the nation's advancement courageously and conscientiously together with my fellow-countrymen.

Toward Constitutionalism

Address at the inaugural meeting of the Committee for the Establishment of Constitutional Government held on November 12, 1943, birthday anniversary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Chinese Republic.

NOVEMBER 12, 1943.

THE Committee for the Establishment of Constitutional Government holds its first general meeting today which is the birthday anniversary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Dr. Sun's lifelong struggle was aimed at the establishment of a republic, installation of a constitutional government and completion of national reconstruction in accordance with the Three People's Principles. We who are his followers should realize our heavy responsibility because, while the Republic has existed for thirty-two years, we are now in the midst of resistance and our task of national reconstruction remains to be completed. Never should we cease our efforts until the Principle of People's Sovereignty* is fully realized. Today I wish to explain in brief the aims and functions of this Committee for which I wish to exert myself in co-operation with you hereafter.

Since the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Central Executive and Supervisory committees of the Kuomintang adopted the resolution to convene the People's National Congress within one year after the conclusion of the war, I have felt the need of an organization to help forward the plans and preparations for the advancement of constitutionalism and the local self-government program which must all be done within the limited period of time. At the same time the Government will, of course, do everything within its power to accelerate preparations by all organizations concerned. Only through this co-ordination of effort can a constitutional government be established as scheduled. After my opinion in this connection was approved by the People's Political Council, the Supreme

*Sometimes translated as the Principle of Democracy.

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National Council promulgated the regulations for the organization and decided upon the personnel of this Committee.

It may be recalled that the previous session of the People's Political Council had shown great concern over the installation within an early date of constitutionalism. But the personnel of the Committee for the Advancement of Constitutionalism then organized was limited to members of the P.P.C., whereas the present Committee has as its membership not only members of the P.P.C. but also others who are deeply interested in the constitutional program. I believe that its inauguration will mean a tremendous help to the Government and will bring about a new and cheerful outlook of the entire people of the nation and their representative organs.

According to the regulations for its organization, the Committee has the following 5 functions: (1) To make recommendations to the Government concerning preparations for the establishment of a constitutional government; (2) to investigate and report on the establishment of local organs of public opinion; (3) to investigate and report on the enforcement of laws and decrees pertaining to the promotion of constitutional government; (4) to transmit opinions of the people's organizations relative to constitutionalism and political problems to the Government and vice versa; and (5) to examine and deliberate upon affairs relative to constitutional government as referred to it by the Government.

Though the scope of these five functions is rather broad, they cover mainly recommendations, investigations and examinations. Generally speaking, the central objective, whether it be recommendation, investigation, report or examination, is to enable us to carry out constitutionalism and to lay a good foundation so that the Republic of China may soon tread the path of constitutional democracy. I once remarked that we should stress not only the adoption of a constitution but also its enforcement. In other words, we should enforce the constitution conscientiously and smoothly after its promulgation and especially in the first ten or twenty years. I am sure that all of you feel the same way as I do. A review of the history of the Chinese Republic in its early days would convince us that what China needs is not only a perfect constitution but also the people's ardent support of the constitution and their ability to

carry it out. During the past war years the Government has spared no effort in promoting the establishment of different grades of people's representative organs and in the extension of the new county system and local self-government program. Upon assuming the important mission of expediting the realization of constitutionalism, I hope that all members of this Committee will face the responsibility so vitally important to the future destiny of our nation with great fervor and enthusiasm. The regulations for its organization may guide our efforts in carrying out the work of the Committee. I wish, however, to raise three important points concerning the work.

First, the Committee should make known to the people the significance of the Draft Constitution and canvass opinions concerning the problem of constitutional government. The Draft Constitution was promulgated by the National Government on May 1, 1936. There was a lapse of 17 months between the adoption of the Draft Constitution by the Legislative Yuan and its promulgation by the National Government. Though the Government resorted to various measures to seek the opinions of the people regarding the Draft Constitution, it is regrettable to say that the common people are still ignorant of its spirit and significance. Article 22 of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Fundamentals for National Reconstruction" says: "The Draft Constitution shall be published for the enlightenment of the people so that when the time arrives it will be deliberated upon and adopted." This step is indispensable, for the people must understand the constitution thoroughly before they can be expected to observe it. It is incumbent on this Committee to adopt at once effective measures to acquaint the people with the true meaning and significance of the Draft Constitution. While making known to the people the Draft Constitution, the Committee may also solicit the people's opinions on constitutional government for the reference of and adoption by the Government.

Secondly, the Committee should gather information regarding the establishment of various grades of organs of public opinion, especially county organs of public opinion, and submit reports to the Government. Such organs of public opinion form the foundation of constitutional government. If the foundation is not firmly laid, constitutional government cannot be realized satisfactorily.

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Provisional assemblies have been formed in 18 provinces and one municipality, and the new county system has been established in more than 1,100 counties in over 300 of which village or town assemblies have been held and in over 500 of which *pao* assemblies have been held. Whether these basic organs of public opinion are well organized and appropriately exercising their rights should be investigated, as their functions concern immediately the welfare of the people and remotely the successful enforcement of constitutionalism. According to the provisions of the regulations for the organization of the Committee, all members of the P.P.C. can be asked to undertake the investigation work.

In my opinion the organ of public opinion in the county is the pivot of all people's representative organs. An investigation as to whether it is soundly organized and what are its difficulties is especially necessary. In the program of the National Government for this year, it has been decided to complete the establishment of a county council for every county throughout the country, while similar measures will be taken in territories freed from enemy control so that the Government may be well informed of the opinions of the people. Therefore the Committee should work out a detailed plan for investigation and report to the Government in order to effect the necessary reform. The enforcement of constitutionalism admits of no half-heartedness. We aim at nothing short of true democracy. This aspect of the work, therefore, is most practical and important to which I wish to call your serious attention.

Thirdly, the Committee should find ways and means to promote the spirit of government by law and freedom, in order to develop public opinion and lay the foundation for democracy in preparation for a shift of affairs from a wartime to a post-war basis. The basic spirit of constitutionalism lies in, according to the principles governing the conduct of a nation, due respect and recognition of the freedom of the people, while the essence of democracy requires all the people of the nation to be law-abiding. In other words, everybody can be free within the bounds of law and all are equal in the eyes of the law. The people must first be made to understand the true spirit of government by law and freedom before a real foundation for constitutional government can be laid.

The freedom of speech and action of the people are clearly

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defined first by the Draft Constitution for the period of political tutelage and then by the general principles governing Resistance and Reconstruction and the Citizen's Pact. All these are common pledges by which all the people of the nation should abide. The important procedure for bringing about constitutionalism with which the Committee is charged lies on the part of the Government in effectively safeguarding the people's right to freedom and on the part of the intellectuals and social leaders in fostering the people's law-abiding habits and their ability to judge right or wrong with law as the yardstick. With regard to the freedom of the press it has been commonly deemed necessary to impose certain restrictions in all countries at war, as this question requires the utmost care and caution especially when an aggressor remains on our soil. Whether any readjustments or revision of the laws governing the freedom of speech and the press are necessary so that it will be more compatible with the principles of a constitutional government will also lie within the scope of the work of the Committee.

The aforementioned three points should form the centers of emphasis in the work of the Committee. I lay these before you in the hope that they may serve as references in your discussions and that you may have your own proposals to make. As to concrete measures, members of the standing committee may make a detailed study before a decision can be reached.

The privilege of being present at this meeting gives me both a great pleasure and a sense of the heavy responsibility it imposes on my shoulders. The prospect of victory in our resistance is becoming brighter than ever and as soon as the war ends triumphantly for us we will have to prepare within one year for the advancement into the period of constitutionalism. Much remains to be accomplished in educating the people and in strengthening the foundation of the nation. It is hoped that all members of this Committee will live up to the hardships of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and our Revolutionary martyrs who had gone through in their struggle and the aspirations of the Army and people of the entire nation for the realization of constitutionalism by striving with oneness of heart for the complete realization of the aims of our Revolution and the early consummation of our task of national reconstruction.

The Truth of Life

Christmas Eve broadcast to wounded and sick soldiers delivered under the auspices of the National Christian Service Council for Wounded Soldiers in Transit.

DECEMBER 24, 1943.

TO WOUNDED AND SICK OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS IN ALL MILITARY HOSPITALS:

YOUR Commander-in-Chief does not for a moment forget the life and sufferings of you wounded and sick officers and men. Words fail fully to express my deep concern for you. I can only say: "I should be bearing your sufferings for you. Why then are you suffering in my stead?" Think, and you will understand what I mean. My mental anguish over your wounds and pain is more intense than any physical anguish you are enduring.

On New Year's Day of this year I addressed a message to our splendid honor troops throughout the nation, pointing out certain important principles which should be observed. Another year has now passed. Soon we shall be celebrating the seventh new year in our War of Resistance. During this year we have fought many big and hard battles against the enemy. Not a few of our comrades have fallen upon the battlefield, carrying on the glorious traditions of the Revolutionary Army that founded our republic. Still more wounded comrades—old and new—have written by deeds of valor stories to make us sing and weep; now they lie broken in body, maimed and crippled, in our army hospitals, seeking restoration of their physical health. I salute you with pride, loyal and brave soldiers; at the same time I sympathize profoundly with you in your bodily distress. I have ordered officials everywhere to fulfill their duties to you on my behalf, and I have instructed all our army doctors to give you the best possible medical care so as to alleviate your sufferings and help you overcome your difficulties. Only thus can my concern for you be satisfied and my heart be comforted.

THE TRUTH OF LIFE

I have also decided, beginning with the new year, to invite earnest pastors from Christian churches in the land to visit you at your bedsides, to talk with you about the true Way of Life, to broaden your knowledge, to give you spiritual comfort, and to lighten your load of suffering.

I myself wish to take advantage of this broadcast to say something to you wounded officers and men about the truths by which we soldiers should live.

This is Christmas Eve. As we think of this Saviour of men and of the world, His Spirit of sacrifice, and His martyrdom for the truth, we cannot but be moved. As you know, Jesus was the Son of a poor family, His father being a carpenter. Moreover He grew up among an oppressed people at a time when they were suffering bitterly from foreign aggression, and yet for the sake of lofty and eternal ideals He served His own fellow-countrymen and race and poured out His blood freely as a sacrifice for all mankind. What was the secret of His power—such love of others, such fearlessness of death, such noble imperishable character? Let me tell you. It was because He knew the meaning of life, because He understood the purpose of life, because He grasped the truth about life. Therefore His infinite Spirit fills Heaven and Earth and rules the universe. I once said that man born in this universe has a Heaven-given capacity to rise upward and to live for others. When this capacity is fully and creatively realized then man can stand erect and secure, unafraid and unashamed, in the vast universe and achieve the ideal of perfection. I have described this revolutionary philosophy in two sentences, "The purpose of life is seen in the advancement of life in all mankind; the meaning of life is found in the creation of ever new life throughout the universe." If we comprehend this revolutionary idea and give ourselves to life-long struggle for it then with inner certainty of soul and unfailing strength of body we may be able like Jesus Christ to attain imperishable life and become perfect men revered by mankind through all generations.

Comrades: I have spoken before of your world-renowned valor; you have fought and bled for your country and your people. You have displayed the highest traits of character. You have suffered and "lived through nine deaths" for humanity, for fatherland, for

fellow-countrymen and for principle. You have accomplished mighty deeds. But as long as you live on this earth, as long as we have not attained complete victory and freedom, so long does your responsibility remain; it is not yet fulfilled. We revolutionary soldiers should live and die like Jesus. We should be ready to give our last drop of blood on a cross to cleanse humanity of evil and to create a shining new world of equality and freedom. Let every soldier as long as he lives and with all the strength he possesses perform his full duty to his country and to the world. For us soldiers the struggle cannot cease as long as any breath remains in our bodies. Looking at the innumerable heroes and martyrs that have gone before us and the unborn generations that will come after us we cannot but strain every nerve to complete our sacred mission. Your Commander-in-Chief cares deeply for you in your physical distress and even more in your mental misery and depression of spirit. He also knows that you must submit to the discipline of truth if you are to find comfort of soul and hold fast your spirit of struggle and sacrifice. And so again I put before you some of the essential conditions of spiritual culture and well-developed character.

First in a true way of life comes Faith. Faith gives life. What is the object of our faith today? The Three Principles—National Independence, Democracy, and the People's Livelihood—which the Father of our Country bequeathed to us and which can save our country and people, mankind and the world. Dr. Sun Yat-sen left an important exhortation to our soldiers, "Let us with our perishable lives of a few score years establish for our nation an imperishable existence of centuries and milleniums." Our individual lives are a part of the life of our race. Remember—Heaven and Earth and our parents have given us birth that we may be universal men who can transmit the past and create the future. Long life in ordinary speech means life of the physical body. But the physical body is simply a bundle of flesh and blood and bones. It is not our true life which is linked with the endless life of the Chinese nation and the ever-living truth of the Three Principles. Only if our nation is immortal can we as individuals truly enjoy long life and immortality. As government of, by, and for the people spreads over the world our lives will be as immortal as these great principles and as

indestructible as Heaven and Earth itself. Understand and live by this truth and you can forget your anxieties. You can meet whatever comes, happiness or suffering, peace or danger. Your whole view of life and death will be changed. You will struggle more bravely and you will find peace of heart.

Next to Faith I must point out the importance of Love and Patience. It is for love of your country and people that you have been wounded in this war against the invader and are enduring such pain; it is for love of family and kindred and ancestors that you have sworn vengeance against the aggressors and are now lying upon beds of suffering. Remember your love of fatherland and fellow-countrymen and your pain will be eased. Think of the victory that lies ahead, the recovery of our lost territories, the return to your homes and ancestral graves, the achievement of all that we are fighting for, and you will find health returning more quickly to you. With love you can endure all the sharp arrows of sorrow and misfortune, with love your spirits can be at rest whatever happens to your bodies.

Finally we need Patience. Without patience it is impossible to realize life's high hopes. Hope cannot exist without patience. Patience enables us to strive on and not give up half way until the goal of our hopes is reached. Our greatest hope today is for a free, enlightened world and for a China that can stand equal and independent among the nations. Because of our effective resistance this hope is nearer to being realized and the full consummation is now within our sight. I am sure that this great expectation will nerve you to overcome all our final difficulties and to forget all your own trials.

All the military and Party regulations and my various messages to the troops should be carefully studied and observed. While invalided you should endeavor to be just as good natured and respectful as before to your medical officers, to your fellow soldiers, and to your teachers. You should deny yourselves, think of others, and help and encourage one another in the same way as on the battlefield. Be affectionate and sincere to all your comrades; share what comes in life or death. Steel yourselves to meet suffering with love of country and a patient spirit. Do not let feelings of depression or rage get control of you. I am sure that you have learned through your own painful experiences the value of love and patience. Faith, Hope, and Love—these are the three cardinal principles in the teach-

ing of Jesus Christ. If you truly believe in these principles there will be no difficulty that you cannot overcome; you will have the power to realize your highest ideals and to help accomplish the revolutionary mission of our nation.

Comrades: I have mentioned only briefly these great teachings of Christianity. Later you will have opportunity to hear more about them from Christian friends and I am sure you will benefit greatly from them. This custom of visits by chaplains is not common in China as in western countries. There communities, army groups, hospitals all have pastors who speak to the people on occasion about the truths by which they should live and give them spiritual security and solace. When a person meets with suffering, sorrow or depressing circumstances the pastor is ready to give comfort and encouragement. I hope that our Church friends in China who are engaged in this noble service will minister also to our wounded officers and soldiers. Let them with good educational methods suited to each situation bring spiritual guidance and inspiration to our men, teach them self-control and self-respect, show them how to be strong in character, and help them to live according to the teachings of Jesus Christ which can save our people and the whole world. Then there will be hope for the realization of the Three Principles of the People and the great tasks of our revolution can be completed. Let us all strive earnestly toward that goal.

My beloved wounded soldiers, take good care of yourselves. I pray God and Jesus Christ to relieve you speedily of your pain and to restore you to health so that you may help to win the victory and to re-establish our nation.

A Solid Foundation for Victory

Radio address to the Chinese Army and the people on New Year's Day, 1944.

JANUARY 1, 1944.

TODAY is New Year's Day of 1944. It was exactly 50 years ago today that Dr. Sun Yat-sen started the revolutionary movement for the salvation of China by organizing the Hsing Chung Hui.

Through seven years of bitter resistance against Japan we have laid a solid foundation for victory. We and our allies are now exchanging news of military success and preparing for an all-front offensive. This New Year's Day marks the dawn of a new era and its celebration, which the Army and people in our country share with comrades-in-arms of all other peace-loving and anti-aggression nations, should be of special significance.

The outstanding development in the global war during the past year was that the cornerstone for the victory of the United Nations was solidly laid, while the Axis forces in North Africa suffered a smashing defeat and the whole of Libya was cleared of the Nazi horde. This was followed by the Allied occupation of Sicily and Italy's surrender. On the eastern European front, the Soviet forces scored repeated victories, completely dislodging the Germans from positions along the Dnieper.

Japan has also suffered reverses everywhere in the Pacific and China theaters. With the recent Allied landings on New Britain and other strategic points, Japan's second line of defense in the Pacific from the Solomons to the Bismarck Sea has been broken. In the China theater she has encountered unexpected heavy blows at the hands of our defenders in all her futile attacks in the provinces of Kwangtung, Fukien, Chekiang, Kiangsi, Kiangsu, Shantung, Hopei, Anhwei, Shansi and Suiyuan. In her third major campaign in Hunan and Hupeh, we were able to inflict upon her a most crushing defeat, and especially in the battle of Changteh she had a taste of the splendid fighting quality of our troops. In all her four attacks

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in western Yunnan she failed to dislodge our forces from their rock-like defenses along the Nu River. Throughout the past year, the Japanese had nothing but defeats and failures in both offense and defense.

The fate of the Axis partners, Japan and Germany, can now be said to be sealed. The United Nations have become stronger, as more and more nations have joined their ranks, while non-belligerent countries have become more and more friendly and sympathetic to them. The past year therefore was a turning point in the titanic world war.

While the concerted efforts of the United Nations have been to a considerable extent accountable for this happy turn of events during the year, when the initiative passed into Allied hands, there is a more important factor to be considered. This lies in the traditional love for democracy and freedom of the American people, who treat all the peoples of the world as their equals. Their broadmindedness and farsightedness have led the American government to adopt a just and enlightened world policy and to translate that policy into action with success. Thus America has played a significant role in turning the tide of the world war and in laying the foundation of victory for the United Nations. The Axis brigands have been subjected to a psychological disarmament under the censure of justice and righteousness. This point I wish to impress most emphatically on our Army and our people, a point which is also worthy of worldwide attention.

It should be emphasized that the foundation of victory is that our war is a war for the establishment of justice and the liberation of mankind. Only in this spirit, given full expression, may victory be won and permanent peace achieved.

During the past year our international relations were readjusted first by the relinquishment by the powers concerned of their extra-territorial and related rights in China and then by the passage by the American Congress of the bill for the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act. We have concluded new treaties on the basis of equality and entered into treaties of amity with friendly nations whereby our traditional relations of friendship with them have been enhanced. Thus our century-old aspirations for national independence and freedom may now be said to have been realized. In

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October last year we signed with America, Great Britain and the Soviet Union at Moscow a joint declaration on collective security. This, together with a joint declaration signed by the United Nations at Washington on New Year's Day 1942 which it supplements, provides for the attainment of the common war aims and lays down the principle for the establishment of an international peace machinery. Later, at the Cairo and Teheran conferences agreements were reached on common war strategy in Europe and Asia and on the punishment of war criminals in the East and West.

In the light of the important events of the past year, the peoples of the world, amid the gunfire of a cataclysmic war, can already visualize the advent of peace and dawn of righteousness. Peoples who have been trampled down by the aggressors can now be sure of their future emancipation and rebirth.

Here I wish to report to the Army and people of our country the impressions I received during my participation in the Cairo Conference, which, I am sure, you will be glad to hear. In 1938 I pointed out that ever since the Meiji reform, Japan had consistently followed a policy of continental aggression to satisfy her ambition for the enslavement of China and domination of East Asia, as a first step toward world conquest. To crush such ambitious designs of Japan, we must strive to liberate the Korean people and regain Formosa as one of the aims of our resistance.

At the Cairo Conference, America, Great Britain and China unanimously agreed to strip Japan of all the Pacific Islands she has seized or occupied since the first World War and to drive her out of all the territories which she has despoiled by force or out of greed. She has to restore to us the four Northeastern provinces, Formosa and the Pescadores. She has to permit Korea to be free and independent. Thus we have received absolute assurances of attaining the aims of our sacred War of Resistance. This will not only cheer our fellow-countrymen in Formosa, the Pescadores and the Northeast, as well as the people of Korea, but all the oppressed and maltreated Asiatic people both in the Pacific and Asia mainland may look forward with hope for liberation.

In the intimate talks I had with President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill at Cairo, we considered steps for mutual co-operation and agreed upon certain plans for the prosecution of the

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war. We also touched upon the question of the disposal of the enemy after the war.

One important problem in this connection concerns Japan's form of government. When President Roosevelt asked my views, I frankly replied, "It is my opinion that all the Japanese militarists must be wiped out and the Japanese political system must be purged of every vestige of aggressive elements. As to what form of government Japan should adopt, that question can better be left to the awakened and repentant Japanese people to decide for themselves."

I also said, "If the Japanese people should rise in a revolution to punish their war mongers and to overthrow their militarist government, we should respect their spontaneous will and allow them to choose their own form of government." President Roosevelt fully approved of my idea. This opinion of ours is entirely based on the spirit of the joint declaration of the United Nations in 1942.

Today I make public this conversation with President Roosevelt at Cairo in order to impress upon our Army and people that after victory we hope not only to set free all the peoples who have been oppressed and enslaved by the enemy but also to give a helping hand to the innocent and harmless people in Japan.

I have returned from the Cairo Conference with renewed devotion to the ideals of justice and peace. I can tell you that the deepest impressions I have of President Roosevelt are of his unflinching faith, his firm determination to emancipate all the world's oppressed peoples and his sincere desire to help China become a truly free and independent nation. His basic policy is the attainment of real peace in the world and genuine equality among men, and he thinks that in such a future world as he visualizes China must be one of the pillars. This spirit of his arises from his innate love of justice and righteousness and his policy is based upon the peaceful relations of mutual trust between the American and Chinese peoples during the last 150 years.

I also had several intimate talks with Prime Minister Churchill. This resolute, farsighted and deeply emotional statesman of Great Britain impressed me by his frankness and straightforwardness. Mr. Churchill has an inflexible determination to crush Japan with the concerted efforts of the United Nations and fully shares our faith in Sino-British co-operation in war and in peace. Our talks have

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contributed immensely toward a better understanding between our two countries.

I wish further to tell you, aside from America and Great Britain, the Soviet Union, which participated in the Teheran Conference, has also consistently hoped that China should succeed in its national reconstruction program and enjoy independence and freedom.

I am deeply convinced that the United Nations, of one heart and of one purpose, are truly engaged in a war to end all wars and that it is for this lofty ideal that the Allies are fighting gallantly on every front. To live up to the expectations of our allies, our Army and people should redouble their efforts to make their nation strong and independent in order to meet the responsibilities of the times.

Since the Cairo Conference, the aims of the common war against Japan have been qualified. The decision that the three powers are to bring increasing pressure to bear upon Japan will soon be carried into action. Henceforth the burden of our Army and people will become increasingly heavy, as the important task of encircling the Japanese on the Asiatic mainland will fall primarily upon our shoulders. We must realize that in her defensive war, Japan will have to make the China theater her last line of defense, where she will take her last and most stubborn stand.

In the decisive battle on the China front all our soldiers and people must give all they have and all they are. They should be truly aware that it is no easy task to win victory.

This coming year will see the beginning of the decisive stage, when the land, sea and air forces of the United Nations will carry the war to Japan's home islands and to all the seas surrounding her. Judging from our present position as compared with that of the enemy, I believe that if we prosecute the war in strict accordance with the strategy we have agreed upon, we can certainly defeat Japan in the Pacific and Indian oceans to such an extent that either she has to surrender unconditionally or none of her forces will be able to survive the impact of our pressure. In this offensive on an unprecedented scale we of China should collaborate with the Allied forces and exert our utmost efforts. We should not only do so in our theater but should counterattack the enemy in other sectors of the East Asia mainland, wherever and whenever an opportunity presents itself, with a view to smashing to its very roots Japan's so-called

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Greater East Asia fortress. We must realize that only when Japan is utterly crushed in the China theater and only when China attains an all-front victory can permanent world peace be established.

To sum up, it is beyond doubt that the enemy is bound to lose. This is the inevitable outcome of the war but the coming year will see our fighting expand in scope and increase in severity. We must see to it that every one of our soldiers and every one of our civilians shall solemnly discharge his God-given duty. We have to fight on the one hand and reconstruct on the other and we should begrudge no sacrifices. I want all our Army and people, treasuring their past achievements and looking ahead to the glorious future, to fulfill their obligations and show greater strength and spirit of sacrifices in their struggle for the realization of the ideals of our national revolution. There are four guiding principles by which they must strictly abide. First, co-operation between the Army and people must be strengthened, second, every citizen must perform the duty he owes to the State and contribute everything to the nation's cause; third, through economy and thrift material resources must be saved as much as possible with a view to meeting the needs of replenishment at the front; and, fourth, everybody must live a life of self-respect and honor by observing the tenets of the New Life Movement.

All our officers and men in the various war areas should do their utmost to expedite military preparations so that when the forthcoming great offensive unfolds itself this year they will make a contribution to the State that will be remembered forever. Thus may we realize our seven-year-old motto—Victory is certain in war—success is certain in reconstruction.

From Students to Soldiers

A speech to 500 student volunteers in the assembly hall of the National Military Council on January 11, 1944.

JANUARY 11, 1944.

I FEEL unusually gratified to know that during the last two months students in various parts of the country have volunteered to join the colors. During this great year of our Resistance and Reconstruction this act is symbolic not only of the bravery and high spirit of Chinese youth but also of the bright future of our country. The citizens of every modern country have considered themselves duty bound to enlist in the army so that the survival and development of their country may be safeguarded and so that they may fulfill their obligations as citizens of a modern country. Otherwise, both the country and its citizens would invariably fail.

This is true especially in the world's major countries. Everyone from the chief executive of the government down to the plain citizen considers it his duty to the State to undertake military service for a fixed period of time. In time of war they join the colors and march to the front more readily to defend their country. This is the reason why Great Britain, America and the Soviet Union have been able to resist Axis aggression and keep intact their national existence. They have furthermore succeeded in enlisting the co-operation of other Allied countries in the cause of peace and justice for mankind.

After seven years of war we have been able to bring ourselves to the present hopeful stage when we will soon see the dawn of victory, and we have laid the foundation for national rebirth mainly due to the efforts and sacrifices of our soldiers and civilians. But there are still those who do not fully appreciate the importance of military service and who fail to fulfill their obligations on that score. The precedent set by the student volunteers, including many who are of high scholastic standing and who are sons of gentry and Government officials, will surely set right a misleading trend of thought in the

country and serve as an important turning point which will further assure us of our success in the struggle for the independence and freedom of our country.

At this early stage of your encampment I wish to relate my own experience when I first decided to join the Army, which may be of some encouragement to you. When the Russo-Japanese War ended I was only 19 years old. At that time many members of the intelligentsia and school students in our country wanted to join the Army. Seeing that our country was so weak and foreign oppression was becoming worse, I suspended my study at Lunching Middle School in my home town at Fenghua, determined to become a soldier. After repeated efforts I succeeded in passing the entrance examinations for the short course military school at Paoting. Upon graduation I was sent to Japan to enter the Shinbo Preparatory Military School and later served as a second private in the Takada Regiment prior to my entry into the Tokyo Military College. I always recall as one of the happiest periods of my life that experience of mine which was the first step toward the realization of a long-cherished desire to serve my nation.

My experience as a second private which began in the winter lasted a year. The weather at Takada was colder than that of the northern frontiers of our country. Every day I washed my face with ice-cold water and had at each meal but one bowl of rice together with several slices of salted turnip and salted fish. The routine of life in the barracks consisted of a rigid military drill daily, of caring for horses and sundry other labor. I did everything cheerfully that a soldier should to harden his physique. I learned with concentration of mind, with endurance and patience. As time went on I no longer took the drudgery as suffering but felt most happy as a soldier to be able to stand hunger, cold, hardship and labor.

From my own experience of being a soldier for more than 30 years I draw these three important requirements which must be fulfilled if you want to be a modern soldier.

First, you must absolutely abide by your rank, observe discipline and obey orders. An army can be controlled solely through limitations of rank, strictness of discipline and uniformity of command. If soldiers fail to adapt themselves to the virtue of obedience they will be likened to a bed of loose sand. If in time of war each follows

the impulse of his own heart they are bound to fail no matter how good they may be as individuals.

Second, you must pay attention to political training. In a modern army every soldier must fully understand the history of his nation and people, adopt a correct outlook thereon and recognize his own duty thereto. Soldiers of our country should manifest their loyalty to the Kuomintang and to the nation and should consider it their duty to bring about the realization of the Three People's Principles. Only so can we be strong in our faith and with firm faith there will be no obstacles which we cannot overcome.

Third, you must consider the barracks as your school. You should undertake all military drills with endurance and learn diligently so as to acquaint yourselves with the fundamental knowledge of military science, master the basic exercises in military training and, more especially, take to heart the essential spirit of military organization and the art of living of a modern citizen. Only thus can you meet any emergency with self-control and independence, with initiative and determination. Even after retirement from military service you will continue to play a worthy and important part in society and in national reconstruction.

From today you students are considered my subordinates and you therefore should learn and follow the spirit with which I have dedicated myself to the Revolution. You should observe the tenets of a soldier if you want to succeed in your military career. As our *Tsungli*, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, once said, "Under the great name of Washington there must have been countless unknown Washingtons before America achieved her independence." The young men of China today in their enthusiasm to bring the National Revolution to a successful conclusion must all resolve to become unknown heroes. They must all make up their minds to be unknown Sun Yat-sens.

Among all comrades there must be a spirit of sharing and mutual helpfulness in sickness and in distress. The spirit of co-operation and solidarity must prevail at all times so that it may naturally express itself to the fullest extent in the time of war. Our soldiers must be prepared to live or die together and to share each other's suffering in order to win the war and to establish a happy, prosperous new China on the basis of the Three People's Principles.

China and the United States

Text of the joint release issued by President Chiang Kai-shek and Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President of the United States, at the conclusion of Mr. Wallace's visit in Chungking, June 24, 1944.

JUNE 24, 1944.

DURING his visit in Chungking Vice-President Wallace has had an opportunity to discuss with President Chiang and officials of the Chinese Government—in an informal, frank and friendly atmosphere—matters of common interest and concern. They have exchanged views to mutual advantage and found themselves in agreement on basic principles and objectives.

Prosecution of the war against Japan in Asia is an urgent job and mutual assistance in every possible way to get that job done quickly and efficiently is fundamental in Chinese-American relations.

The objective of victory in the Pacific is the establishment of a democratic peace based on political and social stability deriving from government devoted to the welfare of peoples.

Enduring peace in the Pacific will depend upon (1) effective permanent demilitarization of Japan; (2) understanding, friendship and collaboration between and among the four principal powers in the Pacific area—China, the Soviet Union, the United States and the British Commonwealth of Nations—and among all United Nations willing to share in the responsibilities of post-war international order; and (3) recognition of the fundamental right of presently dependent Asiatic peoples to self-government and the early adoption of measures in the political, economic and social fields to prepare those dependent peoples for self-government within a specified practical time limit.

Cognizance was taken of the cornerstone position of China in Asia and of the importance of China in any structure for peace in the Pacific area. It was assumed as axiomatic that essential to such a

peace structure would be continuation of the ties of friendship that have characterized American-Chinese relations for over a century, and the maintenance of relations on a basis of mutual understanding between China and the Soviet Union, China's nearest great neighbor, as well as between China and her neighbors. No balance of power arrangement would serve the ends of peace.

Seven years of resistance to Japan—during the last three of which China has been virtually cut off from physical contact with the outside world—has resulted in serious economic and financial difficulties in Free China. The Chinese people are facing these difficulties with fortitude, confident of their ability to stand the strain until greater material assistance from abroad becomes feasible.

The Chinese people and the Government are determined to implement and make real the Three People's Principles of Sun Yat-sen. The first of these principles—National Sovereignty—is now a reality. The second—Democracy—is implicit in plans being formulated for the establishment of a Constitution to guarantee individual rights and freedom and to establish representative government. Concrete consideration of the third—the People's Livelihood—is inherent in plans for economic reconstruction.

With regard to the People's Livelihood, the fundamental importance of agricultural reconstruction in any plans for economic or industrial reconstruction was recognized. The lifelong interest of Vice-President Wallace in agricultural development gave him a special understanding of China's agrarian problem and enabled him to discuss with President Chiang realistic solutions. Vice-President Wallace was confident that President Chiang would find among the American people a willingness to co-operate in every practical way with the Chinese people in solving agricultural and related problems posed in Chinese plans for economic reconstruction, implementation of which would mean trade relations between Chinese and American businessmen on a mutually advantageous basis.

President Chiang and Vice-President Wallace were continually mindful of the fact that the fundamental purpose of their governments is the promotion of the security and welfare of the peoples of China and the United States, respectively, and were in agreement in believing that pursuit of the broad objectives which they had discussed would be in line with accomplishment of that purpose.

Our Seven Years' Fight

*Message to the nation on the seventh anniversary
of China's war against Japan, July 7, 1944.*

JULY 7, 1944.

WE HAVE fought, regardless of all sacrifices, a better-equipped enemy for seven years. We have served as vanguard in the fight for world peace and spearhead in the anti-fascist war. Our long and bitter resistance has shattered Japan's dream of conquering China and has lined up all the anti-aggression forces against the aggressor nations. This war has now reached a stage when victory for the United Nations is certain.

The battles fought in the Pacific and on the Asiatic mainland are phases of one war, and even military developments in Europe and Asia are intimately related one with the other and are indivisible. In Europe three outstanding successes have crowned the efforts of the United Nations in the past twelve months. They are the collapse of fascist Italy, the crushing defeats repeatedly inflicted by the Soviet Army upon the Nazis, and the opening of the Second Front. Those developments have deprived Hitler of initiative and placed him in a tightening ring.

Events have shown that our British and American allies had mapped out a plan for the invasion of Europe with care and thoroughness. There could be no question of success once the plan was put into effect. The favorable change in Europe, however, is largely attributable to the magnificent and determined Soviet resistance in the past year. This gallant nation has not only recovered almost all of its lost territory, but has also annihilated huge Nazi forces and dealt crushing blows to German morale. The astonishing performance of the Soviet Army is sure of a prominent place in the world's war annals. I believe that it will not be long before the war in Europe is brought to a successful conclusion.

As to the progress in the Pacific, our British and American allies have not given the enemy one moment's respite. The British

OUR SEVEN YEARS' FIGHT

Navy, in the period under review, attacked northern Sumatra and heavily raided enemy bases in the Andaman Islands. The American forces launched air offensives on the enemy in the Kuriles following their capture of Kiska. American successes in the Southern and Central Pacific have been even more brilliant. Since the launching of the first offensives, our American allies have been victorious in all engagements, and the enemy has not yet succeeded in recovering a single post once lost.

More recently our American allies adopted the island-hopping strategy, and after penetrating the enemy's outer defenses advanced one thousand nautical miles to make a successful landing at Saipan, the gateway to Japan. With her navy hiding and evading a fight, with her air force losing heavily, and with her iron-and-steel-producing center in Kyushu recently subjected to devastating bombing by American Superfortresses, there is little wonder that the enemy in a recent broadcast admitted that Japan's defense line had been broken, and warned that "the war has reached a decisive stage." He is greatly concerned not only over his Army overseas—isolated and left to perish—but also over the security of his homeland, now directly threatened.

In China we are engaging large Japanese forces, while in India and Burma the Chinese, British and American forces are making steady progress with our troops in Yunnan attacking the enemy simultaneously from the east. Since the capture of Kamaing and Mogaung the Allied forces have continued to advance despite the monsoon rains. Our troops in western Yunnan, following the crossing of the Salween River, are driving on Lungling and Tengchung hoping to effect a junction with the Allied troops advancing eastward in northern Burma. All facts indicate that a part of the Allied strategy, carefully mapped out, is successfully unfolding.

Japan has now fully realized that her defenses both on the sea and in the air are weak, her aircraft-producing and shipbuilding plants are unable to meet requirements, and a general counter-offensive from China is imminent. In order to divert the attention of her people from the gathering threat to her home front, Japan recently mustered all available forces and made a synchronized attack on our troops in Honan and Hunan.

The enemy obviously has planned the present campaign with

great care, and the scale of operations is the largest since his assault on Hankow and Wuchang in 1938. It is of no use to ignore the fact that the enemy has made rapid advances in his new drives and that the situation is grave.

What are the enemy's objectives in the present campaign? There are three. First of all, he aims at reducing our field forces before our general counter-offensive against him takes place. Secondly, he wants to destroy our air bases along the Canton-Hankow and the Hunan-Kwangsi railways to minimize the danger of an air offensive against his homeland. Lastly, and most important of all, he is anxious to gain control of the Chinese trunk lines as avenues for eventual retreat for his troops now in Burma, French Indo-China, Thailand, Malaya and the Southseas Islands. He has already found it increasingly difficult to maintain a supply line between Japan and his bases in the Southseas. Under constant attacks by Allied naval and air forces, his sea lane is even in danger of being completely cut. The enemy launched his desperate assaults on the China front in the vain hope of improving his position.

Three months have passed since the enemy operations against us began. To date, he has not accomplished any of the three objectives. I am confident that in spite of our initial reverses China's power of resistance will in no way suffer. We are continuing to do our best to defeat his purpose in this campaign.

Military operations are generally designed to gain either space or time. Speaking of space, the enemy defense line in the Pacific is full of wide gaps and no local gains on the Asiatic mainland would be helpful to him. Speaking of time, the enemy cannot possibly keep pace with the rapid unfolding of Allied plans for counter-offensive. The enemy should have attempted to gain control of the Chinese railways five years ago instead of deferring the operations until now. And, thus, we have already won a victory.

The overland route of communications which Japan hopes to secure is long. Even if she should double the force she is now employing she would not find it possible to dominate the Peiping-Hankow, Canton-Hankow and Hunan-Kwangsi railways and link them with the highway leading to the border of French Indo-China. Our troops, with the collaboration of the people, would give the enemy no peace. His hold on the lines would always be contested

relentlessly and his forces attacked wherever found.

Although the enemy's home front is weak yet he is concentrating his available forces on the China front. This will serve as an excellent opportunity not only of fighting with an indomitable spirit but also of holding as many of his troops as possible from action elsewhere. The day of carrying the war to Japan proper will be hastened. In holding the Japanese in the present campaign I feel confident we are making a positive contribution.

In fighting a strong enemy with inferior equipment for years, we have not relied so much upon material as upon spiritual force—a willingness on the part of our people to die so that justice and righteousness may live. I admit that, with no adequate foundation for reconstruction, China is handicapped by industrial backwardness, economic difficulties and insufficiency in war production; but it is of the utmost importance that our moral state be kept up and our fighting spirit be not permitted to falter as we approach the decisive phase of the war. While I am aware that from now on fighting will be more intensive and conditions more difficult, you should not forget that with a shorter line to defend and more troops available to hold it, our problem of replacement and reinforcement would become correspondingly easier. Moreover, as the campaign in Burma is making progress, there is a good prospect of an early opening of a China-India land route for transporting a larger supply of war materials into China.

Fellow-countrymen, I have foreseen from the beginning that the enemy would intensify his attack on China as final victory for the United Nations approached. This has happened—subjecting our revolutionary spirit and morale force to a final test. I always hold the view that no success is worthy of the name unless it is achieved through extreme hardships. There is a sacred duty devolving upon us, the living, to complete the work of our comrades who have died for the cause. In order to carry out this duty, it is imperative that we should reassert our faith in ourselves. So let every one of us give all he has and all he is in the fulfillment of the obligations which citizenship places upon us. A word to our patriots in enemy-occupied areas. They should know that liberation is close at hand and should prepare for the part they are to play. Our actions now will determine the destiny of our nation for the next hundred generations.

OUR SEVEN YEARS' FIGHT

Our Army and people should make an all-out effort in co-ordination with our allies to exterminate the enemy.

I hold myself responsible to the nation, to my fellow-countrymen, to our martyrs and to our allies, to continue the war until victory is attained and our lost territory recovered. I solemnly pledge myself to share with my Army and my fellow-countrymen the sufferings and hardships which the war will yet entail. In anticipation of the peace that is to come, I earnestly urge upon you to strive together with undaunted courage to overcome the difficulties that still lie ahead of us.

Before Final Victory

Opening address at the Third Plenary Session of the Third People's Political Council, held in Chungking, September 5, 1944.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1944.

AT THIS opening session of the Third Plenary Session of the Third People's Political Council, I wish to extend, on behalf of the Government, my hearty welcome to all members who have come from long distances and to those members residing in Chungking.

First, let me report to you on the recent developments of the war in the China theater. Since the series of defeats suffered by the enemy at the hands of the Allied forces at Saipan and Guam several months ago, Japan has realized that her doom is near. In an attempt to bolster the ebbing morale of her army and people she has launched offensives in Honan and Hunan. Her ambition has already suffered serious setbacks and will never be realized.

We do not deny that we have had military reverses during the past half year, nor can we refuse to recognize that the present period in our War of Resistance is the most difficult one. I hope, however, that we will all understand several important factors.

In the first place, it must be understood that the decisive stage of the war has begun in the China theater. We must be prepared to face what I have often called the "most trying hour" during this stage before the attainment of final victory.

Secondly, the situation today entirely differs from that of five years ago. Today, the anti-aggression forces are victorious everywhere, and Japan's total defeat is inevitable. Her attempt to retrieve her desperate situation in the China theater, therefore, is bound to fail.

Thirdly, though we are weak in material resources, we are strong in revolutionary spirit and are confident in the righteousness of our cause. As long as we continue our struggle resolutely and do not falter, I can assure you that militarily there is no real danger.

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Seven years of fighting on our part has been an important factor responsible for the favorable turn of the war situation in Asia and the Pacific. From the very beginning of our resistance, we have been conscious of our responsibility to preserve world justice and peace. Now that we are fighting shoulder to shoulder with our allies we should, more keenly than ever before, feel the importance of our earnest task. Despite our unfavorable position, backward industrial production and inferior armament, we must do our very best to fulfill our part in this global war against aggression. We will make all necessary sacrifices rather than be thought unworthy of our allies. In consistent pursuance of this spirit, we have in the past co-operated with our allies in bringing about the present hopeful state of affairs.

Now we are being well repaid for all our past sacrifices. From now on, it is of crucial importance that we carry forward what we have accomplished during the past seven years and that we step up our fighting strength in order to attain final victory. This requires greater effort on the part of both our Army and our people.

China is a country in which a revolution has not yet been completed. She cannot, therefore, be compared with those nations of the world which are well advanced industrially. After seven years of war, military and economic difficulties which we face today are to be expected in an agricultural country like ours. By and large, we may still consider ourselves fortunate. The difficulties we face are not surprising since we had not, in the past thirty years, laid a sound foundation for military, political, economic and scientific development. A formidable enemy attacked us at a time when our reconstruction had not fully begun. Upon a country little developed in light and heavy industries, the ravages of war have naturally had telling effects. Furthermore, our communications have been cut and we have had neither time nor the wherewithal for making repairs and replacements. Consequently we have experienced shortages in military supplies and materials.

Added to all these difficulties has been the fact that we were loosely organized socially and therefore the national mobilization law could not be fully enforced. Whereas we have remained strong in spirit in a prolonged war, our resources have been reduced as time went on. During recent months these weaknesses have become par-

ticularly apparent. This we should not try to conceal but should endeavor to correct. If we can but persist in our efforts to overcome these obstacles, military reverses and economic problems which we have encountered during the past half year could be turned into a valuable lesson for winning the war and completing national reconstruction.

Today I wish especially to raise one point which concerns the success or failure of our war effort. That is, our country must have national unity. A unified China is needed for the winning of the war—a unified China is needed for post-war reconstruction and international co-operation. The aim of Dr. Sun's long revolutionary struggle was unity—the Northern Expedition for the overthrow of the warlords was launched to secure unity—resistance against Japan today is also for unity. During the last fifty years Japan has been harboring the intention of dividing China, thereby endangering the existence of our country. Hence there were the Tsinan Incident, the Mukden outrage, and the Lukouchiao Incident. We, therefore, united ourselves and started the resistance, disregarding sacrifices. Our war against Japan is not only for securing our national existence and international justice, but it is also for guaranteeing our national unity.

The desire of the National Government for national unity represents the desire and will of the entire people. If the military command of our country cannot be unified, victory cannot be achieved. If our political measures cannot be unified, success in national reconstruction cannot be obtained. We cannot tolerate anything which is contrary to unity. If our troops cannot faithfully follow a unified military command, we will lose in strength while our enemy will gain. If the people cannot truthfully respect the unified political policy, the country cannot resist aggression and cannot become a modern state. There has been no lack of unity among the provinces and troops under the direction of the Government, but in order to assure victory the entire people, whether individuals or groups, should be thoroughly unified both in name and in deed. Only by true unity can we secure real solidarity, expel the enemy and win the war. To strengthen the foundation of our nation all our people should abandon personal prejudicial views and sacrifice private interests.

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Now let me point especially to the preparation that has been made for the introduction of constitutional government and economic reconstruction.

The promotion of constitutional government is equivalent to the promotion of democracy. Our revolution and reconstruction aim at the realization of a *San Min Chu I* democratic government. Only the day on which constitutional government is realized may be regarded as the day when the work Dr. Sun had handed down is completed. There would have been no revolutionary sacrifices and struggles during the last fifty years if we had not worked for the realization of democracy.

The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee last September adopted the resolution of "convening the people's congress and promulgating the constitution within one year after the conclusion of the war." In November, the Committee for the Promotion of Constitutional Government was formally established. During the past year the Government has had as its basic object the early realization of democracy. Such measures as the promulgation of the "Habeas Corpus Act" and the revision of regulations governing publications and press censorship have served to lay a foundation for democracy and constitutional government.

As to the preparations for the realization of constitutional government, emphasis is being laid on the strengthening of local self-government, and the establishment of more organs representing the people or popular opinion. Up to September, 1943, 321 people's political assemblies were established in various *hsien* and municipalities throughout the country. The number has been increased to 906. Up to the present time 540 *hsien* and municipalities in various provinces have formed the *hsiang* and *chen* assemblies, and 1,037 *hsien* and municipalities have *pao* assemblies. Due to wartime and communications difficulties, the results have not been satisfactory. But the Government will continue to do its best for the State as well as for the people so that the constitutional form of government may be adopted on schedule.

I shall deal next with the economic problem which today includes two aspects, economic stabilization and economic development. The

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first aspect has mainly to do with the problem of commodity prices. The Government, having accepted the proposal of the Committee for the Promotion of Economic Reconstruction under the People's Political Council, in June of this year, adopted the "emergency measures for the enforcement of the program for strengthening price control," which was being faithfully carried out by the National General Mobilization Council. In the past few months results are reflected by economic stability.

The bumper crop this year and the prospective increase of supplies to be imported after the reopening of the international transport route will not only help to stabilize commodity prices, but they will also solve the difficulties attending economic reconstruction. Hereafter the Government will continue to do its best in assisting and supporting industrial production, devoting equal attention to the development of state-owned and private enterprises, equalizing the people's burden and striving to co-ordinate financial and economic policies so as to hasten economic reconstruction based on the Principle of People's Livelihood.

Lastly, I believe that in the struggle for a final victory we must, on the one hand, remove as far as possible the people's sufferings, and on the other hand make the people fully realize the new era in which they are now living.

I hope you members of the People's Political Council will report to the Government the people's grievances, and point out where Government supervision has not been entirely satisfactory. At the same time I hope you will give your assistance in relief of those who have suffered from injuries, loss of home and separation on account of the war. At the same time, we must realize that the world after this war will be marked by progress and change, advancing it a whole century as compared with pre-war days. Remember Dr. Sun's teaching of "forge ahead to catch up" and it will help us to fulfill our heavy responsibilities.

I have said that "since ancient times any individual or state who relied on others could never have real independence; anyone who does but enjoy the fruits of other people's hard labor will undoubtedly face eventual elimination." We should actively and concretely strengthen ourselves and catch up with the times.

I sincerely hope that the people of this nation will be far-sighted

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and be enterprising enough to enable China after this war to secure real independence and freedom, and to be on equal terms with all the civilized nations of the world. Only by so doing can we prove ourselves worthy of the Father of the Republic, the revolutionary martyrs, and the soldiers and people who have laid down their lives in this war.

Basis for Political Settlement

President Chiang Kai-shek, in his capacity as President of the Executive Yuan, gave a state-of-the-nation report before the Third Plenary Session of the Third People's Political Council on September 16, 1944. Following is the English translation of that part of his speech dealing with the Chinese Communist issue.

SEPTEMBER 16, 1944.

THE Government has consistently taken the policy as decided upon in December of last year that political questions should be settled by political means. I feel that the basis for political settlement lies in the support of national unity and observance of national laws and decrees. Every citizen should be fully loyal to his or her country while the Government should seek a solution for every problem in a way most beneficial to the nation in an impartial spirit and with fair judgment of facts.

We all know that law is the basis of politics. Either individuals or an army must observe law and discipline, which are the cornerstones of any nation. In order to elevate China's position in the family of nations and to win the war it is imperative for her citizens to observe law and discipline and maintain national unity. A patriotic citizen and a responsible government should abandon all prejudices and sacrifice selfish gains and should avoid doing anything detrimental to national unity or violating law and discipline. The Government is ready to accept any opinion if it is beneficial to the nation and helps to win the war so that any knotty problem may be smoothly settled. Yesterday, Councilor Lin Tsu-han and General Chang Chih-chung reported to you on the conversations that have taken place on the Chinese Communist issue and you passed a resolution. I am gratified with Councilor Lin's attitude during his report, though I shall not discuss his views and opinions.

The Government has accepted most of the concrete demands

presented by the Chinese Communists. For instance, it has accepted fully demands regarding the north Shensi administrative area, its organization and functions as presented by Divisional Commander Lin Piao previously.

One concrete problem still to be settled is that of the 18th Group Army. I wish to tell you today two important points. First, with regard to the problem of the numerical size of the aforesaid army, the Central Government in its proposal permits it to be reorganized into ten divisions. If there are really too many troops, the Government may consider reorganizing them into twelve divisions as proposed by Divisional Commander Lin Piao, hoping only that they will not further extend themselves without authorization or organize units other than the regular army by extracting money from the people for their maintenance. If military and political unity is maintained, the Government will not mind organizing one or two more divisions.

Secondly, with regard to the problem of pay and arms, troops of the 18th Group Army reorganized in accordance with instructions of the Central Government will receive the same treatment as other national armies. There will be no discrimination at all. After reorganization, it will receive food, pay, arms, ammunition and medicine regularly. I hope then members of the People's Political Council will investigate whether there is any unfairness.

The Central Government has repeatedly made it clear that what it insists upon is a unified military command and political unity. While it means to accord equal treatment to the 18th Group Army, it demands equal observance of law and discipline. The 18th Group Army must obey the orders of the National Military Council regarding transfer and operations. Only thus can it prove that it is truly loyal to the country and does its share in the War of Resistance. And only thus can it feel unashamed before the war dead and in face of sacrifices made by its compatriots during the past seven years.

The Government will be glad to receive any opinion from you councilors concerning this program for the political settlement of the Communist issue.

Success in War and Revolution

Message to the nation on Double Tenth anniversary, October 10, 1944.

OCTOBER 10, 1944.

THE Republic of China is today thirty-three years old. Resisting a powerful aggressor for more than seven years has gained us full confidence. The coming year will not only bring us final victory but also witness the success of our National Revolution. On this glorious anniversary, I wish to tell my fellow-countrymen how we could most effectively exert ourselves in this final phase of the struggle. I also wish to give you a picture of the state of the nation by a concise examination of our national position, of the progress of our revolution, and of the current military developments.

First, let us remember that our country is still going through a period of revolution. A revolutionary nation has its peculiar characteristics, and cannot be judged by ordinary standards. To be able to carry on after having fought a formidable enemy for more than seven years and being subjected to three years of the most stringent blockade with our National Revolution not completely accomplished is a feat unknown in the annals of human struggles.

We are well aware of our shortcomings and weaknesses in political and economic affairs which we should correct. Such shortcomings are unavoidable in a nation going through a revolution and, in general, also in nations waging a war. History shows that backwardness and weakness are inevitable during revolutions and instances of social and military conditions under similar circumstances which were far worse than ours may be cited. Such symptoms are not peculiar of China and could not be fairly utilized as weapons to assail the Government. To do so would be only to lend comfort to the enemy and traitors. Mutual counsel and guidance are desirable and commendable but to find fault and to be unduly critical serve no useful purpose. In line with our revolutionary policy and duty,

we should strive toward perfection in order to lay a solid national foundation.

We should realize that our Government and people trying to attain independence and freedom are not concerned with ephemeral success or failure and temporary praise or reproof. With our just and righteous cause, we have been striving to carry out the Three People's Principles and should not be deterred by considerations of danger or failure.

Let me cite the cases of two model revolutionary nations. Beset with internal and external crises after 1918, Soviet Russia, with indomitable persistence, surmounted all difficulties and emerged a strong nation. Deprived of much of her territories, Turkey, in 1920, with Ankara as her base, recovered a good deal of her lost land and rebuilt herself into a power.

Let us now recall the early days of our Revolution when we were led by the founder of our Republic. Our internal and external situation then was infinitely more difficult than today. Now we still have a huge territory untouched by the enemy, and 5,000,000 soldiers engaging him on many fronts. The enemy, on the other hand, has reached the end of his resources and is facing certain doom. Circumstances are truly favorable for the completion of our Revolution and the successful outcome of the war.

Recent malicious rumors circulated by the enemy and traitors have, however, influenced the views of some foreign observers, and as a result, a section of foreign opinion has advanced confused views on our military and political affairs. This is due largely to an inadequate perception of the true nature of our War of Resistance and to imperfect understanding of the characteristics of a revolutionary nation. At the beginning of our war with Japan, influenced by enemy propaganda, some foreign observers had likewise freely predicted that China could not hold out longer than three months.

We must not allow ourselves to be influenced by other people's praise or reproach. Our self-confidence must not be shaken. Again we must realize that ours is a revolutionary nation, and our duty is to complete the revolution and carry forward national reconstruction, and our problems are unique. We are guided by the Three People's Principles and our revolutionary spirit. So long as we possess unwavering confidence, so long as we exhibit our revolutionary spirit,

we will assuredly complete our sacred mission.

Secondly, we should correctly appraise China's status among the nations as well as our responsibility in this war against aggression. The war in eastern Asia cannot be fought successfully without China's participation and the future of world peace is closely linked with the success or failure of our Revolution. In other words, if China had not fought uncompromisingly, it would not have been possible to secure a complete victory in the anti-aggression war in eastern Asia. If there were no independent and free China, world peace could never truly materialize. China fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Allied nations is not an accident of history; it is because we hold the same principles and ideals and are bound together by the same fate. Let us exert ourselves worthily in bearing our heavy responsibilities.

The objective and basis of our struggle are unchangeable. Fighting alone or fighting in collaboration with our allies, we shall always maintain an inflexible determination to overcome all difficulties. Three years ago, when we were fighting the enemy alone, we repeatedly exacted heavy sacrifices from him. If we judge the future by the past, it is clear that no matter how the war situation develops, it will in no way affect the essential conditions for victory. As long as we adhere to our established policy, we shall not fail. It is necessary for us to realize that in this war against aggression, what is needed is a nation which can stand on its own feet and undertake its own responsibilities, and not a nation which has lost the spirit of independence and has to rely upon others. The strength and spirit exhibited by China today is capable of removing all difficulties. Let us not underestimate ourselves and defeat our own purposes.

Faithful to our pledges, we are not afraid of sacrifices. No matter how the situation may develop in the future, we shall continuously maintain our friendship with our allies and discharge our responsibilities as a member of the United Nations in a spirit of mutual assistance and co-operation. Now that the Nazis are approaching collapse, and the time for launching concerted attacks upon Japan is close at hand, it is imperative that we should redouble our efforts in the battlefields of eastern Asia.

Thirdly, if we judge the present military situation by engage-

ments along the seacoast and railway lines, we cannot deny the fact that we are encountering many military difficulties nor can we belittle the severity of the fight put up by the enemy before the final defeat. But judging the situation from a broader viewpoint and considering the military situation in the light of seven years of war, we cannot fail to see that victory is within our grasp. Temporary gains and losses or local success or failure at this time cannot shake the faith in our final victory.

At the beginning of the war we resisted the enemy with inferior equipment. What we relied upon was our steadfast revolutionary spirit. It is still this spirit that guarantees victory.

Even at this moment we have 400,000 regular troops east of the Peiping-Hankow and Canton-Hankow railways, who are capable of delivering massive blows against the enemy. We have countless patriots in the occupied areas waiting to rise against the enemy. We have in reserve ample manpower and material in the interior provinces, which together with difficult and perilous terrain would constitute an impenetrable obstacle. It would not be possible for the enemy to invade the real base of our War of Resistance even if he had still the strength he possessed three years ago.

Finally I want to call the attention of my fellow-countrymen to the intrigues of the enemy and traitors. They are spreading all sorts of malicious rumors, predicting that there would be civil war and disunity in China. Their object is to mislead the world and undermine our war spirit and self-confidence. I am afraid that some foreign commentators, unfamiliar with the real background, have also lent themselves unwittingly to a wider circulation of such rumors, not realizing they are aiding and abetting our common enemies, the Japanese and the traitors. But as long as we remain true to ourselves such rumors will fail to attain their objects, and in the full light of the dawn our nation will march to final and complete victory.

The Party and the Nation

Message issued on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Kuomintang, November 12, 1944.

NOVEMBER 12, 1944.

TODAY is the birthday of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Chinese Republic. Dr. Sun founded in 1893 the Hsing Chung Hui,* which marked the beginning of his revolutionary movement. It is now exactly fifty years since the founding of the society. We feel it most glorious to hold the commemorative ceremony for the fiftieth anniversary of the great Revolution.

The birth of Dr. Sun meant the arrival of a savior for the Chinese nation and was glad tidings for mankind. So far as China is concerned, the organization of the party by Dr. Sun marked the beginning of a new life for China and his formulation of the Three People's Principles meant the creation of a new soul for China. The result was the awakening of the people and the struggle of the revolutionaries which brought about the overthrow of the monarchy, the establishment of a Republic and the complete liberation of the Chinese nation. As to the effect on mankind—in consideration of the fact that China as a nation of 450,000,000 people holds a vital position in the world—had it not been for the Revolution started by Dr. Sun which had increased the self-confidence of the nation, inspired hope of national regeneration and stimulated us to further progress in the modern world, nobody can tell how the Asiatic and the world situation would have developed. It is sure that the fate of China would have been unimaginable.

We may therefore say that the Revolution started by Dr. Sun is the pivot of China's regeneration and the foundation of the welfare of mankind. In the words of Dr. Sun it is "A holy exploit unprecedented and not expected to occur again." I believe that every patriotic Chinese exults in this great holy exploit and is determined

*Literally, the Society for the Regeneration of China.

to bring it to a successful conclusion and that every member of the Kuomintang particularly realizes his or her responsibility and strives for the consummation of this grand mission. On this auspicious occasion I wish to speak to my fellow-countrymen and party comrades on the significance of the Kuomintang anniversary.

I. *The founding and mission of the Kuomintang.* The organization of the Hsing Chung Hui marks the beginning of the Kuomintang and also of the Chinese Revolution. Since then we have consistently followed the same purpose and mission in the Revolution for the past fifty years. The goal of Dr. Sun's Revolution is to attain freedom and equality for China and his motive was to save the country from destruction. Dr. Sun told us that "the Three People's Principles are the principles for national salvation." Delving into the documents of the early period of our party, we find in the manifesto of the Hsing Chung Hui the following words: "To rescue the people from their suffering and support the tottering edifice of the state," and in the manifesto of the Tung Meng Hui* this statement: "In previous days there were revolutions of heroes but the present Revolution is a national Revolution in which every citizen has a responsibility." These expressions indicate that the aim of the Revolution is to save the State and the people and that the foundation of the Revolution is built upon the entire nation.

Dr. Sun has consistently made it clear that the nation comes before the Party and that he organized the Party for the purpose of saving the nation. The interests of the Party can in no way be alienated from the interests of the State and the people. The relation between the Party and the State is closest before the revolution of the nation is completed. Members of the Party should act as the vanguard of the people in the face of death and danger and rally the people to join in the struggle. They have special obligations, no privileges. It was because of this very pure and holy spirit of loyalty to the State—total self-sacrifice and disregard of compensation or reward on the part of our Party members—that we have been able to rally so many revolutionaries and patriotic elements under our standard. This very spirit all our fellow-countrymen should take to

*China Brotherhood Society the revolutionary organization which was the successor to Hsing Shung Hui.

heart, all our young men should emulate and all our Party members should prize and preserve.

II. *The measures and aims of the Three People's Principles.* The ultimate goal of our National Revolution is the realization of the Three People's Principles. The objective of the Three People's Principles is stated in the program of the Tung Meng Hui, that is, the revival of the Chinese nation, the founding of a Republic, and the equalization of land ownership—which were to be initial aims of the Three People's Principles. Later the manifesto of the first National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924 and the bequeathed teachings of Dr. Sun made fuller explanations. It is for the realization of the Three People's Principles that our Party comrades have struggled persistently for the past fifty years and numerous revolutionary martyrs have sacrificed their lives.

Briefly speaking, according to the manifesto of the first National Congress of the Kuomintang, the Three People's Principles, are: Nationalism, which implies emancipation of the Chinese nation and equality of all races within Chinese territory; Democracy, which implies the realization of a system of direct popular authority in addition to that of indirect popular authority; and People's Livelihood, which implies equalization of land ownership and regulation of capital, and the maintenance and regulation of the people's livelihood by the utilization of governmental powers. In other words, Nationalism aims at national salvation and independence, Democracy at the building of a Chinese Republic with sovereign rights actually vested in the people, and People's Livelihood at the prevention of capital monopoly and class struggle in order to realize a balanced life for the people.

These three principles containing the three aspects of Nationalism, Democracy and People's Livelihood are all-embracing, impartial and most suitable to China. The reason why we take the Three People's Principles as the highest guiding principle for the building of the Chinese Republic is that it meets the needs of the nation and follows the current world tendency. Herein lies the goal of our herculean efforts amidst enormous hardships.

III. *The significance and achievements of the National Revolution.* Dr. Sun asserted that the National Revolution is a common exploit for all Chinese citizens, upon which hinges the rise or fall

of the nation. In the spirit of universal brotherhood he rallied all patriotic Chinese to join our Party and take part in the Revolution. In the history of the Chinese Revolution Dr. Sun says: "The Party was established to rally the patriots in the common struggle." A study of our Party history reveals that from the time of the Tung Meng Hui to the present period of the Kuomintang there have been six major reorganizations in our revolutionary set-up. Each time it was reorganized to meet the requirements of the time and after each reorganization it drew more patriotic and revolutionary elements to the Party.

Mainly influenced by the great spirit of Dr. Sun and of the Three People's Principles and impelled by their sense of duty to the State, innumerable patriots have joined our Party and participated in the struggle for the realization of the Three People's Principles. Many of them have run great risks or even sacrificed their lives. Thanks to the efforts of these revolutionary martyrs China has been steadily emerging from decadence to regeneration and from darkness to light during the past fifty years. With the Revolution now entering a more important stage we are anxious more than ever that all patriotic Chinese will participate in it and become bosom comrades who will share both glory and disgrace with us.

IV. *In commemorating the glorious history of the Revolution our Party comrades should have a greater realization of their responsibilities in the Revolution.* Dr. Sun organized the Party for the Revolution out of a sense of responsibility toward the obligation of saving the State and the nation. Dr. Sun said, "If within the country there is anything that goes wrong—it is our responsibility." He also said, "Because the Revolution has not been successfully carried out it is not possible to build a true republic. So long as the republic has not been successfully built members of this Party should not cease their struggle." Here he clearly pointed out to us the responsibility and obligation which we should by no means shirk.

As followers of Dr. Sun, we should know that we take part in the Revolution not for personal gains but for fulfilling our obligations and responsibilities. We should place the interests of the nation above everything else. We should be ready to run all risks for the fulfillment of our obligations and responsibilities in the Revolution. The history of our Party has been written with the tears and blood of

our Revolutionary martyrs. During the past fifty years, while many have sacrificed their lives for the Revolution, almost every member of our Party since Dr. Sun has experienced slander, disgrace and great suffering. Referring to Dr. Sun's harrowing experience the history of the Chinese Revolution says: "Though he placed the interests of the nation foremost and devoted himself fully to the Revolution his compatriots not only failed to help him but even derided and ignored him." Actually these words fail to describe a fraction of the sufferings which Dr. Sun and the Revolutionary martyrs had undergone.

Today in commemorating Dr. Sun and the Revolutionary martyrs we as true revolutionaries should stand all hardships and sufferings in an undaunted spirit. We should bear in mind that we are descendants benefited by what our forefathers have done for us and the unfinished task left by our forefathers should be the goal of our struggle. On this anniversary day we should commemorate not only the Revolutionary martyrs but also other Chinese who have sacrificed their lives for the Revolution in the past fifty years. We should never swerve from our duty imposed by the State and by the Revolution but face and fulfill it. Only thus can we be the worthy followers of Dr. Sun and can we condole the souls of those who have sacrificed their lives for the Revolution during the past fifty years.

V. *All my fellow-countrymen should strive with their might and main to win the final victory and consummate the Revolution as an appropriate way to commemorate those who have sacrificed their lives for the country.* They should exert their all-out effort in the current War of Resistance which is an inevitable stage in the course of National Revolution and reconstruction. Our number one enemy in the course of National Revolution and reconstruction is Japan. This Dr. Sun had foreseen long ago. In the conclusion of his "Industrial Project" (also known as *The International Development of China*) Dr. Sun predicted that "the next aggression from Japan will be met by a resolute resistance from the Chinese people, and it would be impossible for Japan to govern China profitably at any time and for any period of time." Dr. Sun talked then about "organizing for war," which foreshadowed the militaristic, fascist aggressive bloc; he also talked about "organizing for peace,"

which heralded the Allies which are now fighting against aggression and for justice and peace.

We have fought for more than seven years and are now together with our allies engaged in "a war between right and might." After victory is won, we believe that international peace and security will be properly safeguarded and economic collaboration between China and other countries will be placed on a sound basis. However, at this juncture the enemy has penetrated deep into our land and placed the yoke upon many of our fellow-countrymen. In this final stage of the struggle we should bring full force to bear upon the enemy. We should realize that Japan is our arch enemy. If the Japanese are not driven out of China we shall have no hope of successfully concluding our Revolution or realizing the principles of Nationalism, Democracy and People's Livelihood. Moreover, national existence can in no way be safeguarded, not to say individual or group interests. Revolution implies all-out sacrifice and struggle, and national salvation requires total elimination of selfish ends. In this emergency period we should one and all unreservedly and unconditionally contribute all we have and all we can. We recall how the Revolutionary martyrs courageously followed Dr. Sun in the Revolution without the least dilemma or demand.

We should realize that Revolution and national salvation are our common duty and our sole aim today is to drive the enemy out, rejuvenate the nation and win national independence and freedom. Everything else is out of our consideration. Therefore every one of us should make his or her effort toward this common goal of winning the final victory and removing the obstacles to our National Revolution and reconstruction. Only thus can we feel unashamed when we think of Dr. Sun's intention of saving the nation by starting the Revolution fifty years ago and when we think of our own duty.

In the above I have dwelled upon the significance of the Revolution started by Dr. Sun fifty years ago. We rejoice at the birth of our great and noble Leader at the most opportune time to show us the way to National Revolution and rejuvenation and save the country from decadence. We feel glorified to have this great sage and this great Revolution. However, we should bear in mind that our effort in the last few minutes is of paramount importance. In this critical time we should not for a moment lightly neglect doing

our part in the life-and-death struggle. It must be realized that only after victory is won can the work of national reconstruction be well started.

On this solemn occasion let me quote a passage from a declaration by Dr. Sun before the inception of the Chinese Republic: "I believe that my fellow-countrymen will strive to complete this great task with conscientious and persistent effort. I hope that they will all have an indomitable spirit in doing so. As descendants of Emperor Hwang Ti, we should look upon each other as brothers and sisters, share joys and sorrows, render mutual help and with one heart and soul defend the country. If every warrior is not afraid to die and every family does not spare its effort, the Revolution will surely be a success."

My fellow-countrymen and my Party comrades, this passage seems to have been written just for us at this critical time. I hope that we shall all take it to heart and strive jointly for the consummation of the National Revolution and reconstruction.

Faith in Victory

*A Christmas message broadcast to the nation on
Christmas Eve, 1944.*

DECEMBER 24, 1944.

WE HAVE come to another anniversary of the birth of Jesus of Nazareth, upon whose teachings the religious faith of an ever growing number of people is founded.

Between fifteen and twenty years ago our churches met with sever attacks, and there was a strong trend toward the stamping out of religion in China. I, at that time, was not a believer in the Christian faith. Because of popular opposition to the churches I also had doubts, but I studied the reasons animating the opposition, as well as the essentials of Christianity. My study brought me to the realization that Jesus was not only a Savior of mankind but also a leader of national, social and religious revolution. The revolutionary force which He gave to the world is not unlike that which inspired our Three People's Principles. This I made clear in my 1938 Easter message on the need of a religious faith as against secular superstitions. Therefore today I hold that the followers of Christ should not only practice the love taught by the Master but also should make known His revolutionary spirit.

This is the season at which all Christian nations, year after year for nearly twenty centuries, have happily celebrated the birth of the most eloquent and convincing prophet of peace and of the brotherhood of men that ever lived on this earth. During all these centuries there has been no lasting peace in any land under heaven. Yet the growing numbers of those who have carried Jesus Christ's message of love, mercy and forbearance over all lands and seas have never ceased to hope that mankind would some day reject the leadership of vain and cruel tyrants. They have ever continued to hope that mankind would some day ignore the call of those mad men who glorify predatory war.

Here in this land of ours, the insane rapacity of Japan has

brought unspeakable horror and misery. This has been true during all the past eight years but more particularly so this year. On the eve of a day traditionally dedicated to mutual kindness, generosity and peace on earth, numerous of our people are subjected afresh to the rule of savagery, and many tens of thousands who escaped that humiliation have come to us empty handed, cold and hungry, as homeless refugees. Even as we prepare to thank our Father in heaven and the Savior he sent among us so long ago for the promise of "peace on earth and good will toward men," valiant sons all over the world are giving their lives to beat back the forces of evil and to recover the soil that has been plundered and polluted. Yet, perhaps, nowhere in this suffering world is there greater confidence than among the people of China that the end of this era of mad conflict is almost at hand, and that the ancient promise of the angels on the night of Jesus' birth is about to be fulfilled.

The life, character, teachings and spirit of service and sacrifice of Jesus inspire us to go ahead in our struggle that we may bring in a new world of freedom, equality, peace and happiness. Jesus taught the kingdom of heaven, not something in the distant future, but something that may be realized now by "men of peace and good will" who have his faith and purpose.

At this Christmas season I call upon the Christians of our country—of all church groups, Protestant and Catholic—to pray for their country, to set an example of courage and sacrifice, to help awaken the national conscience, to strengthen the faint hearted and encourage the brave. Let us confess before God our own sins and weaknesses of our nation, and ask His gracious guidance and protection, that He may deliver us as a nation and people and guide us soon into peace, and help us so build as to make our revolution a success. Let us give and serve and sacrifice as never before for our soldiers fighting in our defense, for the refugees driven from their homes and for all who are suffering under enemy oppression. I call upon all the churches in China and their members to give their all in the coming year to aid the wounded and sick soldiers, and the homeless and destitute refugees, for we shall then fulfill our duties as Christians and citizens.

Our nation as a whole needs the faith, the high moral standards and the spirit of sacrifice of Jesus. Let us all at this time pray to God

that He may purify us, strengthen us and make us worthy of our great heritage, of our revolutionary cause, of our part in the struggle for freedom, and of the victory ahead. Only by strong character, great unselfishness, "loving one's neighbor as one's self," "bearing one another's burdens," and the courage and faith which Jesus showed through all His life can we carry through the last difficult phase of our struggle and attain the final triumph. We must be willing to give up everything now for victory and for the peace and future of our nation.

Christmas is celebrated throughout the world. Let us on this day remember the forces of our allies in China and all who are standing by the cause throughout the world, the United Nations. There can be no freedom of any kind, there can be no religious freedom under the rule of such men as have led Japan and Germany back to barbarism. Jesus said: "You shall know the truth and the truth shall set you free." Pray God that we may know the truth and have the strength to be faithful to it.

During my detention in Sian, I read these words: "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble. Therefore we will not fear." I then saw the truth; God gave me the strength to be faithful to it. Even though I have faced many dangers in my lifetime, yet I have become free. May those of our nation who are now in far greater danger enjoy that blessed freedom of the spirit which I have enjoyed. And may all of our nation, bound or free, and of whatever religious belief, confirm one another, on this day of hope, in the knowledge that God will finally reward with victory and lasting peace those who make no truce with evil. On this Christmas Day let all of my countrymen pray to be sustained in that faith.

Victory and Democracy

*An abridged translation of a message to the people
for 1945, issued on New Year's Eve.*

DECEMBER 31, 1944.

THE year just concluded was for our nation a year of great trial and danger. At no time since the battles of Wuchang and Hankow in 1938 has so much territory been lost to the enemy, have our people suffered such hardships and misery, as during the past eight months. I now call upon you all to examine closely the mistakes we have made in the past and to consider how our efforts in the future should be directed.

At the end of 1943, I predicted that for China the following year would be extremely critical if, in the meantime, the United Nations could not find it possible to co-ordinate their land offensive strategy with ours, and if the enemy blockade of China could not be lifted.

The enemy knows full well that he cannot escape final doom. His only hope is to prevent China from achieving a clear-cut victory, thereby rendering the triumph of the United Nations incomplete and indecisive, and winning for himself a chance to resume aggressive warfare.

With this object in mind, the enemy took full advantage of the all-out Allied offensive and preoccupation in Europe to drive boldly into interior China, in the hope of knocking out our striking power and bringing about our collapse. But today we are still secure on our feet and the entire nation remains solidly behind the policy of fighting to the end. The foundation of our war effort has in no way been shaken.

There is no doubt that the enemy will continue the struggle this year. We should be prepared for even more violent attacks. We should strengthen our forces, seize the initiative and fight back in co-ordination with our allies. All our officers and men should understand their mission and fight with confidence.

Our troops are truly hardy and courageous. Their records in western Yunnan and northern Burma in the past year show that, given proper equipment and the co-operation of the people, they can distinguish themselves in pitched battle and reduce strong points and cities held by the enemy.

The first emphasis, in our efforts in 1945, must be on military affairs. We must give everything for the war for the redemption of past failures and for the speeding up of victory. We must be prepared to meet the end, surmount all dangers and difficulties. Above all, we must adopt all our political and economic programs to meet our military needs.

To enable you all to exert yourselves in the same direction, let me mention a few measures which I believe should be taken this year.

We must reorganize our existing armed forces and build up new ones. This will necessitate a reshaping of military administration, reforms in conscription, the improvement of transportation, amelioration in the treatment of officers and men, and the enforcement of discipline. And what is of special importance is to mobilize more fully our manpower and material resources.

In the matter of wartime administration we have not been tall-growing. We might have been too eager to avoid increasing the hardships of the people, and too hesitant to ask them to shoulder heavier burdens. As a result we lack the means to make adequate provisions for our officers and soldiers. The community at large failed to respond to the order for general mobilization or to co-operate closely with the Army, as is shown in the refusal of the rich to give money and in the reluctance of educated youths to join the Army. Henceforth we must do what we can and offer what we have to further the war effort. In order to heighten our fighting power, we must replenish the armed units and increase their supplies. We must not shrink from sacrifices of manpower and resources, no matter how heavy they may be.

Lately there has been, however, an awakening among the people. The number of educated young men to join the Army has already exceeded the requirements of 100,000 recruits. Still we are far short of our needs for a final triumph. I urge our people to work harder and give more to the war, I ask the landowners and other wealthy families not to miss the last chance for national service.

In regard to political matters, we must prepare for the convening of a People's Congress within the year, to adopt and promulgate a constitution. The delay in our establishment of a constitutional government was caused by the enemy's war of aggression. Even before 1930, it had been decided to terminate the period of political tutelage in 1935. Unfortunately there was the Mukden outrage on September 18, 1931, which threw the entire nation into preparation for war, and we were unable to give this matter our undivided attention. The drafting of a constitution and preparation for calling a People's Congress still continued, and it was then decided to convene a People's Congress not later than November, 1937.

Then came the full-fledged war on July 7, 1937. As a result of the war conditions then existing, it was decided further to postpone the convening of a People's Congress. It is one of our greatest regrets that we have not been able to adopt a constitution and introduce a constitutional government. I feel that a revolutionist should lay emphasis on work and not on talk. Therefore I usually do not vainly talk much about democracy. But I have not for one single day forgotten the need of the realization of constitutional democracy. I hold that so long as political democracy, as provided for in the Three People's Principles, and constitutionalism, as provided for in the Quintuple Power Constitution, are not brought into effect, the revolutionary work of our National Father remains incomplete, and I have not fulfilled my duty to the nation.

As a result of nearly eight years of armed resistance, the Three People's Principles have sunk into the hearts of the people generally and their sense of civic responsibility has been much heightened. Therefore I do not feel that it is necessary to wait until the end of the war to call a People's Congress. I am ready immediately to propose to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang that as soon as the military situation has become so stabilized as to enable us to launch counter-offensives with greater assurance of victory, we should convene a People's Congress to adopt a constitution, which would enable the Kuomintang to transfer the power of the Government to the people. Therefore we must in this year employ our entire strength to beat back the enemy, and also to introduce a constitutional government, with the entire nation solidly bound together. Only thus can we realize the Principle of Political Democ-

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racy and the ten-year plan for economic reconstruction, in accordance with the Principle of People's Livelihood. We should exert our efforts together to accomplish the dual task of achieving victory and of setting up a constitutional government at the same time.

On this New Year's Day we should recall the original purpose of our armed resistance. Although we are sure that eventually Japan will be defeated, yet we must continue to exert our utmost to win. When so much of our sacred territory has been ravaged by the enemy, when so many of our fellow countrymen are still trampled under the steel hoofs of the enemy, we know that our responsibility has not been discharged. We must recover the lost territory, bring solace to those who laid down their lives in the war, and make ourselves worthy of the aid given to us by our allies. May our people and Army exert their joint efforts to that end.

The Task Before Us

An address at a New Year dinner in honor of more than seventy Allied and Chinese officers in Chungking on January 5, 1945.

JANUARY 5, 1945.

THE first thing that I would like to say this evening is to wish you much happiness and every success in 1945. The Chinese people, as you know, have been noted as a nation of great mixers, for whom friendship is the most treasured of all treasures. Has not Confucius himself, at the very beginning of his Analects, said that to welcome a friend from afar is the greatest of all pleasures? This is typical of the Chinese national character. And that is why it gives me so much pleasure to welcome you on the present occasion.

Gentlemen, you have come to this country at a moment when we are being engaged in a life-and-death struggle, and you share in all the hardships incidental to such a struggle. The fortitude and patience that you show in the midst of physical and spiritual trials constitute an encouragement to the Chinese people, stimulating them to greater exertion and causing them to remain undaunted in the face of the worst difficulties. Many of you have taken an active part in our war effort and made invaluable contributions to the common cause. You have not spared yourselves even though grave personal dangers might have been involved. I wish to take this opportunity to express my own appreciation of the services you have rendered. At the same time, I wish also to convey to you the everlasting gratitude of the Chinese people. While you are staying here, I wish to make you as comfortable as possible. But due to circumstances of war, there may be much to be desired in the daily amenities of life. I regret that things are as they are, and that they are not better. But if we take stock of the present international situation and contemplate our achievements as well as the future prospects of victory, we shall no doubt be pleased to think that each one of us has contributed in his own way something toward the final out-

come and that our temporary tribulations is but a necessary prelude to the grand consummation.

The year 1944 was a momentous year in all theaters of war. In Europe, it saw the opening of the Second Front, initiated by the landings in Normandy and followed by successive advances until the Allied lines cut into German soil. The progress made by Soviet troops in eastern Europe is equally brilliant. The upshot of it all is that most of the countries once under Nazi domination are now liberated or in process of gradual liberation.

When we turn to the Pacific, we find that our achievements are just as imposing. After three years of active preparation, the mighty American Navy is bestriding this vast expanse of water and knocking at the very gates of the island empire, whose name is Japan. The American Army has advanced 5,000 miles from Hawaii to the Philippines, and the American Air Force is striking with increased tempo at the Japanese homeland. Our enemy is getting what he so amply deserves.

Last year, here in China, our feelings were somewhat mixed. On the one hand, we suffered reverses in certain areas, leading to much anxiety and serious searchings of heart. But the Chinese Expeditionary Forces in western Yunnan, in conjunction with troops under the able command of General Sultan in northern Burma, have scored a series of victories, annihilated the enemy on the Burma-Yunnan border and are being engaged in recovering the vital line of communication with the outside world. It is expected that this line will be in operation again in the near future.

However, let us not blind ourselves to the realities of the situation. We must remember that the task lying before us is just as difficult as ever. The recent Japanese offensive in China and the present German counter-offensive in western Europe both tend to show that before the enemy is finally liquidated, more will have to be demanded of us than before. We must not relax our efforts. We should know that in such a worldwide war involving dozens of nations, certain weaknesses are likely to expose themselves in one way or another, but we must not allow our enemy to take comfort in such thoughts and exploit them to his own advantage. The point that I should like to drive home is that, though China has been in the war longer than any other nation, she does not for a moment

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think of avoiding her responsibilities. On the contrary, she proposes to do her full part, to contribute everything that she has in order to realize the objective which we hold in common.

There is another point that I must emphasize. When we think of the eventual victory and the subsequent days of peace, I cannot help feeling that the one sure foundation of lasting peace lies in friendly co-operation among members of the family of nations. I believe that the traditional ties of friendship, together with our relations as Allies, will always stand the test of time after they have been forged on the anvils of blood and fire. They will be strong, powerful and indestructible. Gentlemen, let us drink to our everlasting friendship and to the coming victory of the Allied Nations.

A Road to Victory

Messages of President Chiang Kai-shek, Major-General Albert C. Wedemeyer, commander of American forces in the China Theater, and Ambassador Patrick J. Hurley, in a joint broadcast to the United States on January 28, 1945, on the opening of the Ledo-Burma Road and the lifting of the siege of China which began in April, 1942.

JANUARY 28, 1945.

PRESIDENT CHIANG'S MESSAGE

WE HAVE broken the siege of China. Even in time of peace the construction of a road from India to China would be an extraordinary engineering achievement. The achievement is all the greater when it is remembered that the road of a thousand kilometers was built over the most difficult terrain and under treacherous weather conditions while fighting against the enemy had to be carried on at the same time. Now the road becomes the main artery of an important base for the United Nations from which shattering blows against Japan will be delivered. In other words, it is a token of victory and of relief from tyranny which will have the effect of a powerful tonic on the spirit of our Army and our people. To the militarists of Japan it will be an omen of defeat. For generations to come China will pay reverence to the memory of all those who gave their lives for this immortal deed.

Every Chinese will be as grateful as I am to the gallant officers and men of our Allies—Americans, British and Indians—for their great and glorious share in the accomplishment of this feat of arms. We shall never forget the hardships they suffered and the sacrifices they made so far from their homes in Burma's savage hills and fever-infested jungles to break the blockade of our country and to throw our arrogant enemy back on his haunches. Our people in the enemy-occupied areas will hear of this and they will hear of the mounting losses which the United States forces are rapidly heaping

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upon Japan just over our horizon and they will know that the hour of their deliverance is at hand.

During the years that China has fought alone in her resistance to invasion, Japan's thwarted militarists told their people that if the Burma Road were closed, if this country were cut off from the material and moral support of our friends in the West, our courage would collapse and we would throw ourselves upon Japan's scant mercy. When they took Rangoon they again boasted to their people that China was cut off and would have to yield. But neither was China cut off from the support of our allies nor did China humble herself. At the same time, over the rugged mountains of the Himalayas in defiance of Japan's marauding aircraft came winging the courageous and skillful American airmen who continued to bring supplies into China in an unending stream.

Now comes a caravan, rolling into China over areas which the Japanese thought to hold in everlasting fief. For this turn of events we and our allies have paid no small price, but we have proved to the enemy that neither the will power of China nor the will power of her allies to win the war can ever be shaken. Let our soldiers fight on together with the Allied forces for the final and total victory. From now on, I am sure, we will have greater faith in what I have often said, that is, while we adhere to righteousness, justice and the Three People's Principles, no enemy is invincible and no difficulty is insurmountable. Let them fight on with the same determination and fortitude as they have shown in the past fourteen months in Burma and Yunnan.

In conclusion let me name this road after General Joseph Stilwell, in memory of his distinctive contribution and of the signal part which the Allied and Chinese forces under his direction played in the Burma campaign and in the building of the road.

GENERAL WEDEMEYER'S MESSAGE

A STRONG and relentless enemy has maintained a land blockade of China for more than two and one-half years. This blockade has finally been broken. A road now bridges the last and most difficult gap between China and the great arsenal of the United States. The strongest proponent of a land route to China has been

General Stilwell. He conceived the plan and fought it through the council rooms. He planned the military operations which have made the road a reality. General Daniel Sultan ably assisted General Stilwell in preparation of these plans and jointly with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek directed the operations which have led to the opening of the road. This contribution to the over-all war effort is a living tribute to these three great leaders and to the brave men serving under them.

The opening of the land route to war-torn China represents the consummation of a courageous campaign waged by the heroic Chinese Army in India under the command of General Sun Li-jen. Equally important were the valiant efforts of the Chinese Expeditionary Forces under General Wei Li-huang. These Chinese forces were effectively supported by American, British and Indian air and ground forces.

Supplies to strengthen China's sinews of war will become available to her beleaguered forces in ever-increasing quantities. This does not mean, however, that immeasurable quantities of war materials or sorely needed civilian supplies will pour into China from the great productive centers of the United States. Until a seaport is open the logistical support that America can give to China will in no way be comparable to that support she has given the British and to the Soviet. The opening of the road does mean that another battle of communications and supply against Japan has been won by the Allies and that heavier and more decisive blows from China can be added to those now being delivered against the enemy from many other directions.

Thousands of people, civilians and soldiers alike, have labored under difficult conditions and fought against an implacable enemy in order that our life line to China might be re-established. The completion of this land route in addition to being a tremendous engineering feat will be a strong factor contributing to ultimate victory.

The opening of the road has significance beyond its immediate military use in defeating the Japanese. It is a monument to the singleness of purpose and unwavering friendship of our two great nations. We Americans hail the courage of China and the vision of her great leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. We confidently face the problems that must yet be solved, knowing that the mutual

trust and respect between our two countries remains the basis for lasting peace between China and the United States.

AMBASSADOR HURLEY'S MESSAGE

WE ARE grateful to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek for the honor he has just conferred upon America—the naming of the land route into China in honor of General Joseph W. Stilwell.

We join the Generalissimo in paying homage to all of our allies, and especially to the Chinese civilians, the Chinese soldiers, the Chinese officers, who together with American soldiers led by Joe Stilwell and Dan Sultan and with the ever-present support of carriers and fighting air forces led by Howard Davidson and Claire Chennault, have fought and worked long, hard and successfully to re-establish land communications with China.

Japan had succeeded in blockading China both on the land and on the sea. The opening of the Stilwell Road re-establishes ground transportation with China. It is not, of course, comparable to America's achievement in building a bridge of ships across the Atlantic, through the German blockade, to carry food and clothing for civilians and war equipment and war supplies and millions of American soldiers to defend Britain. The opening of the Stilwell Road is not comparable to America's achievement in building the battlecraft which have enabled the United Nations to re-establish the freedom of the seas. But the Stilwell Road is a symbol of America's unselfish purpose and of her loyalty to her ally. Less than three per cent of American lend-lease has come to China. However, I wish to say to my fellow Americans that for the road, for the air route, for the supplies, and for the efforts of American soldiers, Chinese everywhere are expressing their everlasting gratitude.

The Generalissimo and General Wedemeyer are now collaborating to destroy the forces of Japan in China. The forces of MacArthur and Nimitz have defeated the Japanese in battle after battle in the Pacific. The imperialistic designs of Japan to dominate other peoples and other nations have failed. There is a growing opinion that the last battle, the final victory of the United Nations, will be the defeat of Japan on the soil of China. There will be hard battles and anxious days before the final victory, but China will fight on. The people of China are inspired by the ideal of a government of

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the people, by the people and for the people. They are inspired by the principles of the Atlantic Charter. They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live. China fights for freedom and for justice. With the unconquerable spirit and the idealism of 450,000,000 Chinese under the heroic and brilliant leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, America sees emerging from this war a free, united, democratic, happy China.

Unity and Constitutionalism

An address delivered on March 1, 1945, before the opening meeting of the Preparatory Commission for Inauguration of Constitutional Government.

MARCH 1, 1945.

YOU will recall that in 1936 the Government decided to summon a National Assembly on November 12, 1937, for the inauguration of constitutional government and the termination of the period of political tutelage under the Kuomintang. On July 7, 1937, Japan suddenly made war on us, and the plan had to be shelved. However, the determination of the Kuomintang to realize constitutional government remained as strong as ever. Had it not been for the recommendation of further postponement by the People's Political Council, the National Assembly would have been convened during 1940 in accordance with another Government decision. This year, on the first of January, on behalf of the Government, I announced that the National Assembly will be summoned before the close of the year, unless untoward and unexpected military development should in the meanwhile intervene.

The Kuomintang is the historical party of national revolution; it overthrew the Manchu dynasty; it destroyed Yuan Shih-kai who would be emperor; it utterly defeated the militarists that succeeded Yuan Shih-kai; it brought about national unification; it achieved the removal of the unequal treaties; and it led the country into the eight-year-old struggle against Japan. It is we who are the party of liberation and progress. In summoning the National Assembly and returning the rule to the people in conformity with the sacred will of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Kuomintang is performing its historical role.

We must emerge from this war a united nation. Only a united nation can effectively perform the tasks of political and economic reconstruction to raise the lot of our toiling masses, and handle the

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problems of external relations in a new, uncharted world. Before the Japanese invasion, we were a united nation. Today, but for the Communists and their armed forces, we are a united nation. There are no independent warlords or local governments challenging the central authority.

I have long held the conviction that the solution of the Communist question must be through political means. The Government has labored to make the settlement a political one. As the public is not well informed on our recent efforts to reach a settlement with the Communists, the time has come for me to clarify the atmosphere.

As you know, negotiations with the Communists have been a perennial problem for many years. It has been our unvarying experience that no sooner is a demand met than fresh ones are raised. The latest demand of the Communists is that the Government should forthwith liquidate the Kuomintang rule, and surrender all power to a coalition of various parties. The position of the Government is that it is ready to admit other parties, including the Communists as well as non-partisan leaders, to participate in the Government without, however, relinquishment by the Kuomintang of its power of ultimate decision and final responsibility until the convocation of the National Assembly. We have even offered to include the Communists and other parties in an organ to be established along the line of what is known abroad as a "war cabinet." To go beyond this and to yield to the Communist demand would not only place the Government in open contravention of the political program of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, but also create insurmountable practical difficulties for the country.

During the past eight years, the country has withstood all the vicissitudes of military reverses and of unbelievable privation and has ridden through the storm for the simple reason that it has been led by a stable and strong government. The war remains to be won, the future is still fraught with peril. If the Government shirks its responsibility and surrenders its power of ultimate decision to a combination of political parties, the result would be unending friction and chaos, leading to a collapse of the central authority. Bear in mind that in such a contingency, unlike in other countries, there

exists in our country at present no responsible body representing the people for a government to appeal to.

I repeat, whether by accident or design, the Kuomintang has had the responsibility of leading the country during the turbulent last decade and more. It will return the supreme power to the people through the instrumentality of the National Assembly, and in the meanwhile, it will be ready to admit other parties to a share in the government, but it definitely cannot abdicate to a loose combination of parties. Such a surrender would not mean returning power to the people.

We must emerge from the war with a united army. The Communists should not keep a separate army. Here allow me to digress a little. The Chinese Communist propaganda abroad has tried to justify this private army on the ground that if it becomes incorporated in the National Army, it will be in danger of being destroyed or discriminated against. Their propaganda also magnifies, out of all proportion, the actual military strength of the Communists. To you, I need hardly say that Government forces have always without exception borne the brunt of Japanese attack and will continue to do so. Today, with the wholehearted co-operation of our allies, powerful armies are being equipped and conditioned to assume the offensive. We are synchronizing our efforts with those of our allies in expelling Japan from the Asiatic mainland.

The Government has not hesitated to meet squarely the issues raised by the Communists. During his recent visit the Communist representative, Mr. Chou En-lai, was told that the Government would be prepared to set up in the Executive Yuan a policy-making body to be known as the Wartime Political Council, to which other parties, including the Communists, would have representation. In addition, he was told that the Government would be ready to appoint a commission of three officers to make plans for the incorporation of the Communist forces in the National Army, composed of one Government officer, one Communist and one American, provided that the United States Government would agree to allow an American officer to serve. If the United States Government could not agree, some other means of guaranteeing the safety of the Communist forces and non-discrimination in their treatment could doubtless be evolved.

The Government has gone further. To meet any fear the

Communists may have the Government has expressed its willingness for the duration of the war to place an American general in command of the Communist forces under my over-all command as supreme commander—again if the United States Government could agree to the appointment of an American officer. The Communists have, however, rejected all these offers. If the Communists are sincere in their desire to fight the Japanese alongside us and our allies. They have indeed been given every opportunity to do so.

Since the commencement of the latest phase of the negotiations with the Communists in November last year, the Government, mindful of the necessity of avoiding mutual recriminations if parties to a dispute are sincere in their desire for a settlement, has made all efforts to prevent newspaper attacks against the Communists. For this reason only the Communist version of the difficulties is being heard. The Communists have made use of the negotiations to launch a whirlwind campaign of publicity, both at home and abroad, defamatory of the Government and the Kuomintang. At the very moment that the delegates were sitting down to the conference, ridiculous charges were made that the Government was conducting negotiations with the Japanese. I consider it beneath my dignity as head of the State to answer these base charges.

No one mindful of the future of our 450,000,000 people and conscious of standing at the bar of history would wish to plunge the country into a civil war. The Government has shown its readiness and is always ready to confer with the Communists to bring about a real and lasting settlement with them.

I have explained the Government's position on the Communist problem at length, because today that is the main problem to unity and constitutional government.

I now turn to the concrete measures which the Government proposes to take to realize constitutional government, which I wish to announce briefly:

1. The National Assembly to inaugurate constitutional government will be convened on November 12 this year (the 80th birthday anniversary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen) subject to the approval of the Kuomintang Congress which is due to meet in May.

2. Upon the inauguration of constitutional government, all political parties will have legal status and enjoy equality. (The

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Government has offered to give legal recognition to the Communist party as soon as the latter agrees to incorporate their army and local administration in the National Army and Government. The offer still stands.)

3. The next session of the People's Political Council with a larger membership as well as more extensive powers will soon be sitting. The Government will consider with the Council the measures in regard to the convening of the National Assembly and all related matters.

I am optimistic of national unification and the future of democratic government in our country. The torrent of public opinion demanding national unity and reconstruction is mounting ever stronger and will soon become an irresistible force. No individual or political party can afford to disregard this force any longer. Let all of us, regardless of party affiliations, work together for the twin objectives of our people—national unity and reconstruction.

A Great Loss to the World

A message of condolence to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, and messages to President Harry S. Truman, and General of the Army George C. Marshall, on the death of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

APRIL 13, 1945.

TO MRS. ROOSEVELT

I AM extremely grieved to learn of the tragic death of President Roosevelt. This indeed is a great loss to the civilized world. President Roosevelt's achievements will not only be ever remembered by your own people, but also they live always in the memory of the Chinese nation. His name and his ideals shall be a beacon of light to humanity for centuries to come. Just as there are no words adequate enough to praise his contributions to the world, so we find ourselves devoid of expression in mourning his loss.

The profound sorrow of the Chinese people is intensified by a deep sense of gratitude that they bear for him. President Roosevelt has firmly laid the foundation for a lasting peace as well as for the ultimate victory of the Allied forces. I am confident that his unfinished tasks will be faithfully carried on and soon completed by his successor and the great people of America with the support of the Allied nations. May I pray that you find consolation in this state of mind. I am asking my wife to convey to you our condolences in person.

TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN

ON BEHALF of the Chinese Government and people, I wish to convey to Your Excellency our sincere and warm respects upon your succession to the presidency. While deeply mourning the passing of President Roosevelt, we find consolation in the fact that your great predecessor is succeeded in his exalted office by such an eminent statesman as Your Excellency.

We are fully confident that under your leadership the American

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people and their gallant forces, in co-operation with all other freedom-loving nations, will continue to labor for the realization of those noble ideals which they have heroically championed for so many years and that their untiring efforts will soon be rewarded with the winning of a total victory and the building of a durable peace.

Your sympathy for the Chinese people and their armed forces has always been an unfailing source of encouragement to us and we firmly believe that our continued co-operation both during the present struggle with our common enemies and in the post-war period will result in the further strengthening of the traditional ties of friendship long subsisting between our two countries.

TO GENERAL MARSHALL

I AND the Chinese Armed Forces, as well as the entire Chinese nation, are extremely grieved at the death of President Roosevelt. His passing in the present hour when his great, outstanding spiritual leadership has already brought the anti-aggression war close to its successful conclusion, without being able to witness the complete consummation of his task, must have caused the deepest sorrow to yourself and your heroic forces. In order to pay our respects to the late great President, the Chinese people and their Armed Forces are determined to exert their utmost to hasten the collapse of our common enemy and complete his work that is left unfinished. Please accept our sincerest condolences.

Building a New China

*An abridged translation of the opening address at
the Sixth National Congress of the Kuomintang on
May 5, 1945.*

MAY 5, 1945.

THE mission of the Sixth National Congress of the Kuomintang is to decide on the policy which is to guide our efforts in relation with the present war needs and to seek for our nation a brighter future.

It was ten years ago when we convened the Fifth National Kuomintang Congress and seven years ago when we called the Extraordinary National Congress of the Party.

In these seven years, from fighting Japan alone we have come to fight Japan and Germany in alliance with all the peace-loving nations.

We have fulfilled the hope of Dr. Sun Yat-sen expressed in his political testament of abolishing the unequal treaties. Now that the Three People's Principles have become the common creed of the entire nation and that the progress of the political sense of the people has been accelerated by the War of Resistance, early inauguration of constitutional government is necessary.

Now is also the time when we are exerting jointly with our allies for the establishment of an international security organization to safeguard justice and peace. We are building a new China as well as participating in the construction of a new world. The convocation of the Sixth National Kuomintang Congress at this time is therefore an epoch-making event in the history of China.

We must understand the history of the struggle of the Kuomintang. We must treasure the Party's revolutionary records. For fifty years the Kuomintang has encountered and surmounted all difficulties with an indomitable spirit. In facing our heavy tasks ahead, we must always keep this in mind.

At the present Congress we shall specially give our attention to the following three points:

First, we shall increase our fighting strength to win the final victory. With the sacrifice of more than 3,100,000 armed forces and countless civilians in the eight years of war, we have laid the foundation for final victory.

The Nazis are being exterminated and the European war is drawing to an end. The main arena of the anti-aggression war will soon be shifted to the Far East. When victory is close at hand, we must further concentrate our power and redouble our efforts.

This Congress should study ways of increasing our fighting power, of correcting our past deficiencies, and of bringing about closer co-ordination between the front and the rear, the Army and the people, war and production, and civil and military affairs. Our Party members should, as vanguards of the people, seek to accomplish with the fullest vigor either at the front or in the rear our mission of combating the enemy and safeguarding the country.

Second, we shall make plans for the inauguration of constitutionalism. Twice I have made known my decision to conclude the period of political tutelage and to introduce constitutionalism—in the opening address to the People's Political Council last September, and in the message to the nation on New Year's Day. On March 1, I announced that the National Assembly would be convened on November 12 (the eightieth birthday anniversary of Dr. Sun Yat-sen) for the inauguration of constitutionalism. I hope this Congress will adopt this proposal.

If we cannot promulgate a constitution and achieve constitutionalism, there can be no foundation for national reconstruction. If we cannot convene that National Assembly, we shall not be able to return political power to the entire people. Therefore, we must decide on a date for the convocation of the National Assembly and see to it that it meets on time to adopt a constitution.

The persistent purpose of our national revolution has been the adoption of a democratic constitution based upon the quintuple-power principle. We hold that the inauguration of constitutionalism should not be delayed. We are aware that large sections of the people may not yet possess all the qualifications required for the exercise of the people's rights. But it is only through practice of their four political

rights and increase of their political knowledge that they may perform their duties with competence.

Third, we shall improve the livelihood of the people. The ultimate objective of our national revolution is the promotion of the welfare of the entire people. Therefore, at the same time we are achieving constitutionalism, we must put into practice without reserve the Principle of the People's Livelihood.

We shall prevent monopoly by capitalists. We shall eliminate the cause of class struggle. We shall firmly establish social security. We shall elevate the living and cultural standards of the people. We shall enable the people to lead a decent and respectable life. We shall carry out the dual policies of land equalization and control of private capital, in order to eliminate monopoly and exploitation. Meanwhile, we shall, in accordance with Dr. Sun Yat-sen's program of the industrial development of China, commence material and economic reconstruction even before the war ends. The fruits of such economic reconstruction are to be enjoyed by the entire people.

The welfare of the country and nation shall come before everything else. We must not consider the interest of any one party or section as of supreme importance.

Fellow Party members, the peace-loving and anti-aggression nations of the world are meeting at the same time on the other side of the Pacific to confer on the establishment of an international security organization. Mankind is entering a new era just as we are writing a new page for China at this momentous Congress.

The San Francisco Conference is to rebuild the world for the welfare of mankind. The Sixth National Kuomintang Congress is to conclude our fifty years of revolution and to secure for our country a bright future.

We shall, as members of the robust and progressive Kuomintang, rally all the ardent patriots and progressive forces in the country to strive shoulder to shoulder for the successful conclusion of the war as well as national reconstruction.

This Unprecedented Triumph

V-E Day messages to President Truman, Prime Minister Churchill, Marshal Stalin, General De Gaulle, and Prime Minister MacKenzie King, sent on May 10, upon the unconditional surrender of Germany.

MAY 10, 1945.

TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN

WHILE the delegates of the United Nations are gathered together in San Francisco to formulate a plan for a durable peace of the world, we heartily rejoice at the news of the unconditional surrender of Germany. On behalf of the Chinese Government as well as the Chinese Army and people, I wish to extend to you and the American nation our warmest congratulations upon the achievement of this glorious victory of Allied arms in Europe. For this unprecedented triumph of the democratic cause, the peace-loving peoples of the whole world will forever remain indebted to the American people for their heroic efforts in defense of freedom and justice, without which the defeat of Germany would not have been possible.

Now that the collapse of the Nazi regime has been brought about, we believe that the day is not far distant when the armed might of the United States, in co-operation with the gallant forces of the other Allied powers, will succeed in crushing our enemy in the Far East and thereby help to realize the noble ideals which the Chinese and American peoples cherish in common.

TO PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL

AS WE celebrate the capitulation of Germany, I wish to extend to you and the British nation our heartiest congratulations on behalf of the Chinese Government as well as the Chinese Army and people, in this happy hour when Hitlerite Germany has been crushed and peace again is restored in Europe. The freedom-loving peoples of the world cannot but recall with profound admiration how in the early days of the war, when the Nazi aggressors were at the height of their power and many nations on the Continent were being trampled underfoot, the heroic British people were virtually the sole bearers of the standard of Democracy and unflinchingly carried on the struggle against tyranny and injustice.

THIS UNPRECEDENTED TRIUMPH

We firmly believe that before long our joint forces will be able to bring about the total defeat of the arch-aggressor in the Far East and usher in a new era of lasting peace and unprecedented prosperity for mankind.

TO MARSHAL STALIN

AS THE world rejoices over the capitulation of Germany, I take pleasure in extending to Your Excellency and the heroic Soviet people my heartiest congratulations on behalf of the Chinese Government as well as the Chinese Army and people. The brilliant achievements of the Red Army have won the profound admiration of all free peoples.

In this happy hour, as we celebrate the complete triumph of Allied arms in Europe, we are fully conscious of the fact that had it not been for the valiant efforts made by the Soviet people in the past four years this victory would have been impossible. It is our firm belief that under your inspiring leadership the Soviet people will continue to make great contributions toward the extermination of all enemies of mankind and build a firm foundation for lasting peace.

TO GENERAL DE GAULLE

I TAKE great pleasure in extending to Your Excellency the warmest congratulations of the Chinese Government as well as those of China's Army and people upon the capitulation of Germany. To this glorious triumph of the Allied cause over the forces of evil and tyranny the heroic French nation made inestimable contributions. It is my firm conviction that under your inspiring leadership the French people will continue to play an important role in our joint effort to crush the aggressors in other parts of the world and establish a new order of law and justice so that mankind may again enjoy the blessings of peace and prosperity.

TO PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING

IN REJOICING with their allies over the unconditional surrender of Germany, the Chinese Government and people wish to express again their profound admiration for the gallant efforts made by the Canadian nation in the defense of our common cause, and they are confident that the collapse of Nazi Germany will be followed in the not distant future by the utter defeat of Japanese militarism in Asia and the dawning of a new era of peace and security for the whole of mankind.

Victory in Europe

An address at a reception for Allied diplomatic and military representatives and Chinese Government officials, on May 12, 1945, in celebration of the total Allied victory in Europe.

MAY 12, 1945.

IN THE history of mankind there have been few moments as inspiring as the present hour. We are gathered here today to celebrate a victory which for centuries to come, will be hailed as one of the greatest feats of arms—a victory which has been secured at a frightful cost of blood and treasure and for which posterity will forever remain grateful to those gallant men, both living and dead, whose heroic efforts and tremendous sacrifices have made it possible.

In the period from the Mukden incident to Japan's treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor, the fortunes of the civilized world were at their lowest ebb. While the fury of Japanese aggression went on unchecked in the Far East, Hitlerite Germany had almost conquered the whole of Europe. Even two years ago, after the Nazis had sustained crushing defeats on the eastern front and in North Africa, they were still dreaming of final victory along with their evil accomplices. But today, the Nazi regime is no more. The Third Reich, the handiwork of Hitler and his murderous gang who in their twelve years' reign of terror did not hesitate to violate every law of humanity and justice, has been thoroughly beaten and has unconditionally surrendered to the conquering Allies. Freedom and independence are now again restored to the suffering peoples of Europe who have long been praying for this day of deliverance from Nazi domination and tyranny.

All the Allied nations have played a great role in the accomplishment of this sacred task. For the valiant peoples of the European countries—France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Greece, Yugoslavia and Denmark—who for six long years suffered so much from Nazi oppression and whose stubborn resistance

to the Nazi invaders greatly contributed to achievement of common victory, we have the profoundest sympathy and admiration.

The world, however, must pay the highest tribute to three mighty Western powers of the democratic camp. In the summer of 1940, when Nazi Germany was at the height of her power and was lording it over the entire European continent, Great Britain was practically the sole standard bearer of the democratic cause in the West. Through their valor and determination the British people not only successfully weathered the terrific storm in the darkest hour of their history, but also gave unbound inspiration to all other freedom-loving peoples. Like the proverbial phoenix Britannia has risen again with greater strength and splendor.

Equally remarkable is the indomitable spirit displayed by the Soviet people whose stout resistance stopped the Nazi war machine at the very gates of Moscow and whose armed forces in an invincible counter-offensive steadily drove the Germans back along a bloody path of three thousand miles until it culminated in the capture of Berlin, the citadel of Nazism. Incomparably brilliant are the battles of Leningrad and Stalingrad, and the heroic exploits of the Red Army will be forever recognized as a most glorious page in the history of the world war of emancipation.

To the United States, the arsenal of democracy, the world owes an everlasting debt of gratitude for her invaluable contribution to the Allied victory over Hitler's barbarous legions. Besides the enormous quantities of vital war materials supplied to her allies through the lend-lease arrangements, she has sent millions of intrepid troops—the cream of her Army—to bear the heavy burden of fighting as the backbone of the Allied forces against the Axis aggressors on the western front. At this moment of the successful termination of the European conflict, the United Nations must pay a special tribute to all the people and armed forces of the United States for their unstinted assistance and for their active participation in the war.

It is only fitting and proper that we should pause here to honor the memory of that leader of our great struggle for the democratic cause—President Franklin D. Roosevelt. His vision and courage have been an indispensable beacon of light not only to the American people but to the people of the whole world. It is indeed a sad fact to be lamented by all the United Nations that this unexcelled leader

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of men and defender of justice, who has done so much for the liberation of Europe, did not live to this day to witness the victory which he knew was fast approaching. With President Truman, his illustrious successor, we deeply regret his passing at the present moment when the United Nations are making joint efforts to lay a firm foundation for lasting peace and to realize the noble ideals so staunchly upheld by him.

The present hour, however, is not yet the time for complete rejoicing. While we are gathered here to celebrate the victory in Europe, I feel certain that the United Nations are not unmindful of the fact that the war against Japan, our common enemy, is still going on. The United Nations especially cannot forget that Japan, the arch criminal of this war whose invasion of Manchuria on September 18, 1931, was responsible for plunging humanity into the throes of an unprecedented holocaust, is still desperately trying to hold her position on the Asiatic mainland and near her home islands; nor can the peace-loving peoples of the world forget that the Chinese people have been fighting this deadly enemy, Japan, against overwhelming odds for eight long years and have not yet been liberated.

So while we rejoice here with all free nations at the liberation of Europe, we must rededicate ourselves to the fulfillment of the pledge made by the United Nations on the attainment of the goals they set before themselves at the beginning of this war. With unwavering determination and redoubled efforts on our part and with the co-operation of our gallant allies devoting their entire armed might to this common struggle, we are confident that in the not far distant future Japan will meet the same fate of Hitlerite Germany and will not be permitted to escape the retribution she fully deserves.

The victory in Europe and the joint victory of the United Nations!

Eight Years of War

A broadcast to the Chinese people and Army on the eighth anniversary of China's war against Japan, July 7, 1945.

JULY 7, 1945.

TODAY brings our armed resistance against the forces of aggression to fully eight years. Compared with a year ago, our war situation as well as world conditions in general have vastly improved. Internationally, two events of historical importance have taken place. One is the total defeat of the Nazi tyranny in Europe as a result of the close co-operation and the magnificent offensive of the United States, British and Soviet forces. The other is the adoption of a World Charter at the San Francisco Conference where a sound foundation for safeguarding justice and world peace was laid. At that conference the lofty objective of the late President Roosevelt was attained through the active leadership of his successor, President Truman, and the harmonious efforts of the participating nations. That is truly an event for rejoicing. Now that the Nazi aggressor has been destroyed, the only remaining obstacle in the path of world peace is Japan. On this momentous war anniversary we should appreciate even more keenly our tremendous responsibility.

I pointed out at the beginning of the war that for Japan there could only be ignominious defeat ultimately. In the second year of the war I said that the forces of righteousness would eventually assert themselves and Japan would become the common enemy of all the champions of justice. I also pointed out that to secure final victory, China should effectively play her part in world developments.

A year ago today, the enemy was vigorously on the offensive in Honan and Hunan. At that time I clearly stated that our military position as a whole was in no grave peril. You will understand from the events that have since taken place that what I said then was not mere words of encouragement.

Japan has suffered repeated and serious reverses in the Pacific.

In this theater his position has become increasingly precarious. Our first duty today is to hasten the enemy's collapse and unconditional surrender. But we should not indulge in false hopes. The closer the war approaches the end, the more desperate the enemy will become. Even now, the Japanese warlords are misleading and compelling the Japanese people and troops to make futile suicidal stands. The Japanese people are not likely to awaken to the realities until the Allies bring the full weight of their arms to bear.

At the beginning of the war, I pointed out that China was resisting also to waken and liberate the Japanese people living under the oppression of their militarists. However, eight years of war have taught us that the Japanese people, although oppressed and deceived by the Japanese warlords, know only force. We must therefore thoroughly destroy Japan's aggressive weapons and totally exterminate the germs of Japanese aggression before we can say we have won completely and before we can have lasting peace.

We should on this occasion recall the sufferings we have gone through in the past eight years. We should never forget the mass slaughter the enemy perpetrated in Nanking and other cities, and his bestial bombing of Chungking. Above all, we should remember what the enemy has done to our fellow-countrymen and to our women in the occupied areas. A countless number of our soldiers and people have as unknown heroes made the supreme sacrifice. We should follow the trail marked by the blood of the fallen and rise to press home the mighty blows and hasten the enemy's doom.

The war has reached its final decisive stage. Of equal importance are landings on the Japanese homeland and destroying the enemy on the Chinese mainland. We anticipate an Allied landing in China. We welcome our allies to fight with us in close collaboration in China. I have repeatedly said that China would carry the main burden in continental operations. The war is being fought on our land. We must play our part well and shun no sacrifice. Our primary concern is to win and make victory certain.

I wish particularly to share with you the following points:

1. Our national policy in this war is to secure national independence and unity. To secure independence calls for the crushing of Japan so that we may proceed with the task of national reconstruction and co-operation with the United Nations on an equal basis to safe-

guard peace. Unity calls for the concentration of our national effort to win the war. With a view to achieving independence and unity and giving military requirements the highest consideration, we must tolerate minor differences and unite with absolute sincerity. Only by the practice of toleration toward our own people and of resolution in crushing the enemy could we reap the fruits of our enormous sacrifice in this war.

2. The foundation of our nation is based upon moral principles. We have been fighting not merely for national existence but for the vindication of human justice and international good faith. Our unassailable ideals have enabled us to overcome dangers and hardships. Right has triumphed over might. With the war drawing to a close, we should prepare ourselves for the greater hardships which we shall encounter when our counter-offensive commences.

3. The meaning of our final victory is thoroughly to carry out the Three People's Principles and establish a new, prosperous, strong and happy China with a government of the people, by the people and for the people. The task is both essential and capable of accomplishment. The full realization of the Three People's Principles is the universal hope of the entire nation. Our foundations for democratic and economic reconstruction have been gradually established during the war. We have assurances now that the plan for the industrial development of China as mapped out by Dr. Sun Yat-sen will materialize. With the defeat of the enemy, the principles of Democracy and People's Livelihood will be fully translated into reality. We can foresee rapid progress for post-war China. Our generation must ensure the next generation independence and freedom.

The coming years will yield us great war results. The entire nation must as one man redouble its efforts to achieve final victory.

Our Government's Two Obligations

Opening address at the inaugural meeting of the first plenary session of the Fourth People's Political Council on July 7, 1945, the eighth anniversary of the war.

JULY 7, 1945.

THE People's Political Council meets again as we are entering upon the ninth year of the war. Final victory is now secure and the dawn of freedom is already visible. I believe that all of you feel as I feel that achieving national freedom and independence is truly a Herculean task.

At this stage of the war, the Government has two obligations to discharge. First, to do its utmost in accelerating the destruction of the enemy. Second, to inaugurate constitutional rule. It is the high mission of this Council to deliberate upon and advance views and plans to hasten the implementation of these all-important measures.

Let us consider briefly the international situation as it exists today. Eight years ago China fought Japan alone. At that time the enemy plotted and schemed to prevent aid from any country reaching us. Our position then was indeed critical. But our situation altered completely when the United Nations Declaration was announced in Washington on January 1, 1942. From then on the enemy hoped that dissension among the United Nations would occur and his propaganda was consequently devoted to the creation of internal friction among them. Ten days ago his hopes and plots were again dashed to pieces when the fifty United Nations assembled in San Francisco adopted unanimously a charter of freedom.

That the charter comes short of the ideal of some people has been freely admitted. However, to ensure peace in the future, it is necessary to have an idealistic international covenant on the one hand and the spirit which is capable of animating co-operation on a very high plane on the other hand. At the San Francisco Conference initial differences were resolved in that spirit. This healthy growing animating element, I believe, will ensure the success of the charter.

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Throughout the Conference the Chinese delegation was guided by the principle of doing its utmost to promote closer co-operation among the United Nations particularly among the United States of America, Great Britain, Soviet Russia, France and China. At the same time we have never deviated from our moral standpoint. For it is only by upholding international justice steadfastly that we can contribute effectively toward international co-operation. This was not merely our policy at the San Francisco Conference—it will be our policy in the future.

I wish here to review the military situation. Following the unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany, our allies became free to devote everything they have to the defeat of Japan. In fact, they have already begun to divert to the Far East a part of their armed forces in Europe or originally designated for Europe. Americans fighting in the Pacific have cut the enemy supply lanes and acquired full control of the air. Japan's homeland has been and will be subjected to continuous and more devastating bombing. The China-India overland roads have been opened as a result of more than ten months of the hardest fighting by the Chinese, American, British and Indian troops. Our recapture of Nanning and Liuchow have severed the so-called continental supply line which the enemy fought for more than half a year to establish.

I am now in a position to announce that in the last six months our preparations for counter-offensive proceeded according to schedule. A considerable part of our Army units has been reorganized and brought up to strength. Treatment for soldiers and their equipment and training have been improved. Particularly gratifying to us all is the co-operation between Chinese and American military authorities which has become even more intimate.

I can now assert that a final and total victory is no longer in doubt. However, we must fully realize our position and responsibility. First, the hour at which victory will come will be determined by the extent to which we dedicate ourselves to the war. Second, the main burden of liquidating the enemy in the China theater must be borne by us. We should on no account shirk our obvious responsibility or leave things to chance.

I will now speak of the present economic situation with which you are deeply concerned. During war, the expansion of national

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expenditures is unavoidable. The budget for the current year is approximately 190 times larger than that of the year preceding the outbreak of the war. Our actual expenditures will exceed this amount when the counter-offensive gets under way. In the past six months the Government, to meet the huge national expenditures, has taken vigorous measures to develop new sources of revenue, cut down expenses wherever possible, strengthen the control system, and step up production.

With reference to revenue, the responsible quarters have been working to increase tax receipts and encourage donations to the State. Savings have also been encouraged, and gold has been sold with a view to absorbing large idle capital. At the same time, tax collection machinery and procedure have been simplified. To reduce the burden of the people a number of vexatious and uneconomic taxes as well as preventive and inspection offices have been abolished.

To reduce expenditures, a policy of retrenchment has been followed insofar as it does not interfere with the prosecution of the war. A total of 2,000 offices under the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of War have either been abolished or amalgamated in the recent months.

As regards production, outputs indispensable to the prosecution of the war which could be produced by ourselves with the aid of our allies have been increased steadily in the same period.

However, the problem of commodity prices remains grave. Notwithstanding the Government's efforts to restrict the expansion of bank credit and adopt other measures, the national budget remains unbalanced. I hope you will point out additional ways and means by which the Government could overcome our serious economic problems. Responsible officials, I am sure, will consider your views earnestly.

Finally I come to the Government's determination to inaugurate constitutionalism. Pursuant to the bequeathed teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Kuomintang has throughout China's War of Resistance been engaged in national reconstruction. In spite of the war, it boldly came to the decision of concluding the period of political tutelage and introducing constitutional rule. You will recall that during the last few years public opinion in this country and the Kuomintang members have been in favor of an early termination of political

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tutelage and inauguration of a constitutional government. But under the war conditions, it has not been possible to hold a general election in the enemy-occupied areas. The plenary session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang two years ago adopted a resolution calling for the convening of the National Assembly within one year following the war to introduce constitutional rule. At that time certain quarters unjustly attacked this resolution arguing that constitutional government should be adopted immediately, and even before the end of the war.

But, as the termination of the war might be delayed, and as even after the war ends, peace and order in various localities might not be speedily restored and the consequence that popular elections could not be satisfactorily held during that time, I declared in January this year that, as soon as the war situation improved sufficiently, the National Assembly would be convened to adopt and promulgate a constitution, concluding thereby the period of political tutelage. In May the 6th Kuomintang Congress passed a resolution calling for the convocation of the National Assembly on November 12th this year.

The Government will not make decisions pending the hearing of your views on various questions connected with the convocation of the National Assembly. While it is proper for the Kuomintang to decide on the date of the National Assembly and of terminating the period of political tutelage and returning the power of government to the people, the Government holds itself ready to consider opinions from all quarters. Rather unexpectedly we now find that those who were opposed to a postponement of the inauguration of constitutionalism until after the war are assailing the Government for its decision to advance the date. In inviting you to give your considered views on this vital question, I hope that you will, in the formulation of your views, be guided solely by consideration of national interest.

The Government is energetically proceeding with the preparatory measures which must precede the inauguration of a constitutional government. Those of you who have served on the Commission for the Inauguration of Constitutional Government have made important contributions. They have given valuable assistance in the setting up of provisional assemblies in various districts and municipalities, and in the enhancement of the people's freedom and they have made exhaustive studies of the Draft Constitution.

OUR GOVERNMENT'S TWO OBLIGATIONS

In accordance with the resolution of the 6th Kuomintang Congress the Government is adopting certain measures preparatory to the erection of a constitutional edifice. It has been decided to abolish Party branches in army units and in schools. It has also been decided that representative assemblies in the provinces, districts and municipalities should hold popular elections within six months according to election regulations that have been promulgated. Political organizations other than the Kuomintang may acquire legal status according to law. I request you to give careful thought to these questions so that they and additional preparatory measures may be carried out expeditiously.

The People's Political Council now has a seven-year history. Its prestige and responsibility have grown continuously in that period. The size of this Council is almost twice that of the first council. The members on the present council have largely been elected by the popular organs in various provinces and municipalities. This is an encouraging sign of China's political development, and gives concrete proof how a popular assembly could gain in stature while a war is on. Your devotion to the duties you owe to the people will, I am sure, greatly encourage the members of the Government to give their best and live up to your expectations and the expectations of those whom you represent.

A New Ally Against Japan

A message to Generalissimo Josef Stalin on August 9, 1945, on the Soviet Union's declaration of war against Japan.

AUGUST 9, 1945.

THE entire Chinese nation is greatly heartened at the Soviet Union's declaration of war against Japan. In the name of the Chinese Government and the Chinese Army and people I wish to express to Your Excellency and through you to the Soviet Government, Army and people our sincerest admiration and most profound gratification.

In the early stages of our War of Resistance, the Soviet Union was the first country to give us not only her moral support but also invaluable material assistance for which the Chinese people were most grateful. When the Soviet Union herself later became a victim of ruthless aggression by Nazi Germany, the Chinese people were filled with unbounded sympathy for your people. It was a source of deep satisfaction and great encouragement to the Chinese people when they watched the courageous Red Army, under your inspiring leadership, win one victory after another over the barbarous enemy until Berlin, the cradle of Nazism, was captured and peace restored to the whole of Europe.

Now that the Soviet Union, having triumphed over Nazi Germany in the West, and motivated by the desire to help re-establish peace throughout the world, has decided to act in unison with China, the United States, Great Britain and the other Allies, the Chinese Army is proud to be able to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army against the nation which was the first in the world to embark upon a campaign of aggression.

It is my firm conviction that after the entry of the Soviet Union into the war its overwhelming armed might will hasten the complete collapse of desperate Japan which is still stubbornly fighting against the Allies and will bring about the early realization of an enduring peace in East Asia.

This Day of Victory

A radio message to the peace-loving nations of the world and the soldiers and civilians of China, delivered on August 15, 1945, on the surrender of Japan and the end of the war.

AUGUST 15, 1945.

RIGHT will triumph over might—this great truth which we never once doubted has been finally vindicated. Our faith in justice through black and hopeless days and eight long years of struggle has today been rewarded. The historical mission of our National Revolution has at last been fulfilled.

For the peace that lies before us we pay grateful tribute, first to the millions of our soldiers and civilians who so bravely sacrificed their lives, to our allies who fought by our side for freedom and right, and to the Father of our Republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who labored all his lifetime to guide our National Revolution to success. But for him we would not be enjoying this day of victory. Above all, we join in thanksgiving to our righteous and merciful God.

The people of China suffered and sacrificed more each year as our long war of defense went on. But the confidence that we would emerge victorious also grew from day to day. Our fellow countrymen in the enemy-occupied areas had to endure a long night of devastation and disgrace. Today they are liberated and can see again the White Sun in the Blue Sky.* The cheers and rejoicings of our armies and people have their deepest meaning in this new freedom of our long-oppressed compatriots.

We have won the victory. But it is not yet the final victory. The universal power of righteousness has not simply achieved one more triumph. We and the people of all the world fervently hope that this war may be the last war in which civilized nations engage.

If this is really to be the last war in human history then our people will not feel that the indescribable cruelties and humiliations

* China's national emblem.

they have endured are too big a price to have paid or that peace for them has been too long delayed.

Even in periods of deepest gloom and despair our people, with a fine inherited loyalty, fortitude, magnanimity and goodwill, held to the conviction that sacrifices made for justice and humanity would surely be followed by rightful compensations.

The greatest compensation has been the mutual trust and confidence between peace-loving peoples of the world born out of our common struggle. With the flesh and blood of their armed youth the United Nations built a long continuous dike against the tide of aggression. All who took part in the great conflict are now allies, united not simply for temporary advantage, but rather because of a great common faith—noble and enduring—that binds us together. No intrigues can wreck this great union.

It is my sincere belief that all men on earth—wherever they live, in the East or the West, and whatever the color of their skin may be—will someday be linked together in close fellowship like members of one family. World war is indivisible and world peace, too, is indivisible. It has encouraged international understanding and mutual trust which will serve as a powerful barrier against future wars.

I am deeply moved when I think of the teachings of Jesus Christ that we should do unto others as we would have them do unto us and love our enemies. My fellow countrymen know that "Remember not evil against others" and "Do good to all men" have been the highest virtues taught by our own sages. We have always said that the violent militarism of Japan is our enemy, not the people of Japan. Although the armed forces of the enemy have been defeated and must be made to observe strictly all the terms of surrender, yet we should not for a moment think of revenge or heap abuses upon the innocent people of Japan. We can only pity them because they have been so sadly deceived and misled, and hope that they will break away from the wrong doings and crimes of their nation. Let all our fellow citizens, soldiers and civilians remember this.

The enemy's imperialistic designs on China have been thoroughly crushed. But relaxation and pride are not rewards of victory that we seek. Peace, when fighting has entirely ceased, will confront us with stupendous and difficult tasks, demanding greater strength and sacrifice than the years of war. At times we may feel that the prob-

lems of peace that descend upon us are more trying even than those we met during the war.

I think first of one very serious problem—how to make the peoples misguided by fascist rulers admit their mistakes and defeat, and recognize that our struggle for national independence, democracy and the welfare of all the people is more in harmony with truth and human rights than their struggle for land and power by means of violence and terrorism.

Permanent world peace can be established only upon the basis of democratic freedom and equality and the brotherly co-operation of all nations and races. We must march forward on the great road of democracy and unity and give our collective support to the ideals of lasting peace.

I urge all of our friends of the Allied nations and all my own countrymen to face the fact that the peace we have gained by arms is not necessarily the beginning of permanent peace. Only if our enemies are conquered on the battleground of reason, only if they repent thoroughly of their folly and become lovers of world peace like ourselves, can we hope to satisfy the yearning for peace and achieve the final goal of the great war that has just ended.

Our Complete Victory

A congratulatory message to President Harry S. Truman on August 15, 1945, upon the surrender of Japan and the end of the war.

AUGUST 15, 1945.

AT THIS glorious hour of our complete victory over our common enemies the entire Chinese nation joins me in paying the highest tribute to the inflexible resolve with which the American people have prosecuted the war against the Axis aggressors. The invaluable contributions to the Allied cause made by your valiant action, for which humanity will forever remain grateful, have helped shorten the duration of this bloody struggle and restore liberty to all oppressed peoples.

The Chinese people, who were the first victims of Axis aggression and who have suffered the longest in this global war, are especially grateful to our American allies for their unceasing moral support and unstinted material assistance.

On behalf of the Chinese people I beg to express to you our profoundest admiration for the brilliant achievement of the American nation and for the great role which you and the late President Roosevelt have played in helping to bring about the collapse of the Axis powers in both Europe and Asia. I wish also to assure you, Mr. President, that in the stupendous task of worldwide rehabilitation and reconstruction China will continue to co-operate with the United States and all the other democratic nations in order that the peace which has been won at such immense costs may be made secure and permanent for the future generations.

National Independence and Racial Equality

An address to the joint session of the Supreme National Defense Council and the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee on August 24, 1945.

AUGUST 24, 1945.

JAPAN has been defeated and is surrendering. The forces of violent aggression have been completely crushed by the concerted efforts of the United Nations. At the end of the First World War Dr. Sun Yat-sen said that nations working together for the good of all would certainly succeed while individuals or nations working for their own selfish ends would inevitably fail. The truth embodied in Dr. Sun's frank, sincere words has been abundantly confirmed by the recent war with its even greater sacrifices.

At this great turning point in history, the National Government should make clear to the people of China and of the whole world the main objectives in its policy of realizing national independence and completing the National Revolution. We shall then be able to co-operate more wholeheartedly and fulfill our mission more effectively. We fervently hope that the bitter lessons of this war will not be quickly forgotten, and that security in China and peace in the world may be permanently established. With this thought in mind I today make the following statement:

The aim of our National Revolution is two-fold. In our relations with other nations we seek national independence and freedom. Within the nation we seek equality for all racial groups. For fifty years we faced the ever-growing menace of Japanese aggression; national armed resistance began when we had no other alternative. Therefore the main emphasis of our national revolutionary movement was upon consolidating the strength of all our racial groups. We knew that we must unite in resisting foreign aggression if we were to attain national independence and freedom.

We had three most important goals and the attainment of these constituted our most urgent task. First, we had to regain our sov-

ereign rights in the Northeastern Provinces and re-establish territorial and administrative integrity there. Second, we had to recover Formosa and the Pescadores Islands. Third, we had to restore to Korea her independence and freedom. Should Korea not be given freedom, Formosa not be allowed to return to its mother country, and the territorial and administrative integrity of the Northeastern Provinces not be restored, all talk of national independence and freedom would be useless and the objectives of our armed resistance could not be achieved. ' These objectives follow the policies handed down to us by Dr. Sun Yat-sen—they have been the leading aims in our armed resistance against Japan, which has meant for us the loss of millions of lives. During the war we had to unite all the racial groups within the nation and strive together to complete our three-fold task. Only if this is done can we expect our country to be independent and make secure the political equality of all the racial groups.

Japanese imperialism has been defeated and Japan is suing for peace. Formosa and the Pescadores are to be returned to China. The restoration of our sovereign rights and of territorial and administrative integrity in the Northeastern Provinces is assured. Korea will in the not distant future be liberated and made free. The foundation of our national independence is firmly laid. We may say that the international aspect of our Principle of Nationalism is approaching completion. Therefore, we must formulate definite policies and take positive action to realize the domestic phase of the same principle, that is, ensure equality for all the racial groups within the nation and thus fulfill the entire program of our National Revolution. We must also ensure the permanency of the victorious peace which we have won at the sacrifice of countless lives and enormous losses in property.

Upon the basis of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teachings, I shall now state, as a representative of the Kuomintang, our policy toward carrying out the Principle of Nationalism and safeguarding world peace and national security. I shall first take up the racial questions in Outer Mongolia and Tibet. Outer Mongolia and Tibet both have a long history. The racial groups in these two areas have always lived by themselves and are totally different from the racial groups inhabiting the border provinces which mix freely with other groups.

Following the Kuomintang reorganization in 1924, Outer Mon-

golia sent representatives to extend greetings and felicitations to our Party. Dr. Sun Yat-sen was at that time already treating them as members of a friendly neighboring country and as honored guests. Such facts are recorded in Dr. Sun's teachings and are widely known. We have never regarded the people of Outer Mongolia as colonials or oppressed them as the Peking Government did. Ever since the inauguration of the National Government we have maintained friendly relations not only with the Outer Mongolians but also with the Tibetans. Our people should realize that if we ignore the aspirations of these racial groups for freedom and restrain their urge for independence and self-government, it will not only be contrary to the spirit of our National Revolution but will also tend to increase friction between the racial groups and jeopardize our entire program of national reconstruction. This in turn will adversely affect world peace and security.

The racial group in Outer Mongolia had, in effect, declared its independence from the mother country as early as 1922 when the Peking Government was in existence. That was almost a quarter of a century ago. The world is undergoing rapid changes and this is a propitious time for renewing old friendships. Therefore, we should, in accordance with our revolutionary principles and the Kuomintang's consistent policy, recognize, with bold determination and through legal procedure, the independence of Outer Mongolia and establish friendly relations with it. We must seek a satisfactory solution of this question. If we fail, happy relations between China and Mongolia will be impossible and not only our own domestic tranquillity but also the peace of the world will be seriously jeopardized.

I must here point out three fundamental points in the realization of our Principle of Nationalism. First, the Chinese Government and people should resolve with noble, sincere and firm determination never to imitate the way of Japan toward Korea. We should honestly aid all racial groups which have given evidence of their capacity for self-government and have shown a spirit of independence. We should help them achieve national independence through self-determination. We must take the opposite road from the Japanese imperialists and lay the foundation for national self-determination, freedom, and equality on the Asiatic Continent in the bright light of total victory.

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For fifty years, the National Revolution of the Kuomintang—overthrowing the Manchu government and resisting Japan—has not only been a movement for China's own freedom and equality, but also for the liberation and independence of Korea. From today, we shall, in this same spirit and together with all Allied nations concerned, fully respect the principle of Korean independence and equality and the position that Korea will soon attain.

Second, if frontier racial groups situated in regions outside the provinces have the capacity for self-government and a strong determination to attain independence, and are politically and economically ready for both, our Government should, in a friendly spirit, voluntarily help them to realize their freedom and forever treat them as brotherly nations, and as equals of China we should entertain no ill will or prejudices against them because of their choice to leave the mother country.

Our frontier racial groups should, in a friendly spirit and through legal channels, make known their wishes to the Government of their mother country. In this way, they may be able to realize their aspirations. They should not defy the mother country and stir up mutual hatred.

Third, we should accord the large and small racial groups inside the provinces legal and political equality, and unhindered economic and religious freedom, so that a warm community spirit and friendly collaboration may develop among all the groups.

As regards the political status of Tibet, the Sixth National Kuomintang Congress decided to grant it a very high degree of autonomy, to aid its political advancement and to improve the living conditions of the Tibetans. I solemnly declare that if the Tibetans should at this time express a wish for self-government, our Government would, in conformity with our sincere tradition, accord it a very high degree of autonomy. If in the future they fulfill the economic requirement for independence, the National Government will, as in the case of Outer Mongolia, help them to gain that status. But Tibet must give proof that it can consolidate its independent position and protect its continuity so as not to become another Korea.

Finding a solution for the racial problems of Outer Mongolia and Tibet is a very great task of our National Revolution. It will be a touchstone of the success of our Principle of Nationalism. We should

be ready to assume responsibility for a solution. I hope that all the Chinese people, in accordance with our revolutionary principles and spirit of national independence, assist the Government in finding an answer to these questions. For world peace and security as well as for the solidarity and reconstruction of our own nation, we must deal with the world's racial questions in conformity with the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and the Three Principles of the People.

Inasmuch as several problems in connection with our southwestern frontiers are also intimately related with future world peace and security, I should like to state here China's hopes.

First, China has had close relations historically with the people of Burma. During the war, China twice sent her troops to Burma to fight the enemy. The direct and indirect casualties sustained by our expeditionary forces in the Burma campaigns amounted to more than 200,000. This does not include the incalculable losses suffered by the Chinese people living in Burma. But, respecting fully the rights of our allies and abiding faithfully by international commitments, our troops were immediately withdrawn upon the completion of our mission on the Burma front. It was clearly our duty as a member of the United Nations. We had no designs on Burma or demands to make, but it is our hope that our ally will take concrete steps to raise the political position of the Burmese people and facilitate the return of overseas Chinese to Burma to resume business there.

Second, I mention the Thais. China was the first country to feel the adverse effects of Thailand's participation in the war. It was for this reason that Thailand was at first included in the China Theater. Now Thailand has been assigned to the Southeast Asia Theater. China has taken no exception to that decision. We have known all along that Thailand's declaration of war on the United Nations was not a free act, but was the result of Japanese pressure. With the war now over, we hope that Thailand will regain her original status of independence and equality. We particularly hope that she will quickly resume normal and friendly relations with China.

Third, I come to the Indo-Chinese. During the war China suffered heavy losses in life and property as a result of Indo-China's inability to defend her own sovereignty and because she served as a base of Japanese aggression on China. But today, in spite of the agreement reached among the Allies that China should dispatch

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troops to accept the surrender of Japanese troops in Indo-China north of 16 degrees latitude, we have no territorial designs on Indo-China. Our hope is that Indo-China will be autonomous and eventually become independent in accordance with the provisions of the Atlantic Charter.

Finally, I should like to say a few words about the Hongkong question. Hongkong and the neighboring province of Kwangtung face common security problems. Hongkong was assigned to the China Theater following the outbreak of the Pacific War. China will not use the occasion of Japanese unconditional surrender as a pretext for disregarding international agreements and infringing upon the rights of our allies. We will not take advantage of this opportunity to dispatch troops to take over Hongkong nor will we provoke misunderstanding among our allies. I wish to state here that the present status is regulated by a treaty signed by China and Great Britain. Changes in the future will be introduced only through friendly negotiations between the two countries. Our foreign policy is to honor treaties, rely upon law and seek rational readjustments when the requirements of time and actual conditions demand such readjustments. Now that all the leased territories and settlements in China have been one after another returned to China, the Leased Territory of Kowloon should not remain an exception. But China will settle this last issue through the diplomatic talks between the two countries.

The world war that has just ended was an unprecedented conflict in human history. All the United Nations hope that this horrible war will be the last war. China has fought the longest and suffered the most. Our hope for peace is therefore the most ardent. Any measure that will strengthen our national unity and promote international peace will receive our strongest support.

In collaboration with our allies, we shall strive to bring about friendly relations between all free and independent nations, ensure the continuance of peace and prevent the re-emergence of power politics. We should see to it particularly that the peoples of the world do not again suffer from inequality, the want of freedom, scarcity and fear. If we keep this in mind, we shall see how supremely important it is that the principles of racial equality and national independence be everywhere realized. The National Government, guided by its own vital principles and its consistent revolutionary policy, will complete

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the unfinished phase of the Principle of Nationalism as peace dawns upon the world. This is one of our fondest hopes and I am sure our allies will understand. World peace will thus be guaranteed and our national security be made certain. Let our people with one heart and one mind strive toward this goal. National revival and reconstruction will then become a living reality and the millions of our officers and soldiers and people who gave their lives in eight years of war will rest in peace knowing that they have not sacrificed in vain, and the truth of Dr. Sun's words pronounced after the First World War will be fully verified.

The Attainment of Final Victory

V-J Day message to the nation issued in Chungking on September 3, 1945, the day after Japan's formal unconditional surrender to the Allies was signed on board the U.S.S. MISSOURI in Tokyo Bay.

SEPTEMBER 3, 1945.

JAPAN has signed the instrument of surrender capitulating to the United Nations. The war against the aggressor nations of the world is now at an end. After eight years of bitter struggle, China has today attained the objective of final victory. This is a day for universal rejoicing. This is the day for our people truly to celebrate and rejoice after long years of suffering and hardship. In paying respect to the memory of the Father of the Republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, we may take comfort in the knowledge that his spirit as well as the spirits of the valiant martyrs of the National Revolution and of the War of Resistance may now rest in peace. Eight years of unspeakable hardship and sacrifice on the part of our Army and people have secured for the nation the bright fruit of victory. This fruit should be highly esteemed and dearly cherished by all of us. We should add to it and should, on no account, permit it to be harmed or lost.

Recalling the nation's bitter struggle and thinking of the ruins and destitution all over our land, I am moved beyond words. But at this important turning point when war is giving way to peace, when we are, together with our allies, putting an end to a dangerous situation created by fifty years of Japanese aggression, and seeking to build a universal, permanent peace and security in East Asia and the world, we should, with friendliness toward our neighbors and with peace assured at home, conclude our war effort, restore order, relieve the suffering in the recovered areas, grant aid to families of the bereaved, and provide recuperation and rehabilitation for the whole nation. To make the past sacrifices truly meaningful, we should at this time introduce democracy and constitutionalism and

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consolidate national unity. Our people have united in the war effort. Let them now unite to bring in democracy and carry out the Principle of People's Livelihood in an environment of social security and peace. I wish, therefore, to make known to our people, on this occasion of nationwide rejoicing, the most important and fundamental domestic policies of the National Government.

First, the fundamental object of our National Revolution and War of Resistance is not only the defeat of the enemy but also the establishment of a new China based on the Three People's Principles. In eight years of war, our armies and peoples have gone through tremendous hardships. Now that the war has been concluded, our people should be given ample opportunity to rest and recuperate. China is an agricultural country. The greater majority of our people are farmers. Next come laborers. Farmers have been the main source of our manpower. Workers have been the mainstay of our war and peacetime production. During the long years of war, our industrial and commercial centers were mostly destroyed or left in ruins. Consequently, the farmers had to shoulder the main burden of both replenishing manpower and meeting the national war expenditures. Now that the war has been won, the heavy load on the shoulders of the farmers and workers should be reduced at once. The National Government has on this day decreed that conscription be suspended for one year throughout the country. Those on active duty should be relieved by stages according to the demobilization plans made by responsible military organizations. The National Government has also completed plans to allot land to soldiers in accordance with the program adopted by the Sixth National Congress of the Kuomintang. The project will be completed within a time limit. Land tax will not be collected for one year in the provinces that were occupied by the enemy. Provinces in Free China will be exempted from paying land tax in the following year. The responsible offices and local governments will be charged with the task of formulating plans to reduce land rent in accordance with the general principle of "a reduction by twenty-five per cent" and taking into consideration the local conditions. These reduction plans shall be completed and submitted to the National Government before November 12 this year for examination and enforcement. We believe that only when the farmers and workers have received adequate succor can society recover, and

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only when rural living conditions have been improved can the industrial and commercial centers have a solid foundation for rehabilitation. Therefore, the National Government, to give the entire nation a brief period of respite, must place special emphasis upon a reduction of the burden on the farmers and the workers and upon improvement of their livelihood. Measures to carry out the Principle of People's Livelihood are regarded by the National Government as prerequisites to the complete realization of the Three People's Principles, and the planning and execution of these measures as the most important function of the Government in the days to come.

Second, now that the war is over, we shall brook no further delay in the inauguration of constitutional democracy. The highest ideal of the National Revolution is the participation of all the people in national politics. The most important measure for the realization of this ideal is to return the power of government to the people. The convocation of the National Assembly is an indispensable procedure whereby the National Government may return such power to the people and is also an important program that must be accomplished in the National Revolution. When the war first broke out, we thought we could achieve victory and attain constitutionalism at the same time. We believe there is an imperative need for the earlier realization of constitutionalism, and we must not permit any further delay in the convocation of the National Assembly. I earnestly hope that the people as a whole and leaders of all walks of life will give sincere support to the Government for the early convocation of the National Assembly and attainment of democracy. No hindrance should be allowed.

The successful conclusion of the prolonged war is the time to begin the task of national reconstruction. The Government's administrative policy will be guided by impartiality and sincerity. Rational and reasonable solution of all problems will be sought through sincere and honest discussion insofar as they do not undermine the Three People's Principles—the highest principles of National Revolution and Reconstruction—and the position of the National Government. It is especially hoped that the leaders of society and responsible members of all parties will co-operate with the Government in the task of peaceful national reconstruction. The Government is prepared to consult all leaders before the convocation of the National Assem-

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bly. The Government is also ready to consider a reasonable increase in the number of delegates to the National Assembly and seek a rational settlement of other related problems.

As a safeguard to the freedoms of the people, the National Government has, besides the enforcement of the law for the protection of the freedom of the person, decided to abolish, within a specific time limit, wartime press censorship so that the people may have freedom of speech.* The Government will promulgate a law to facilitate political assembly and organization so that the people may have the freedom of association and all political parties may abide by the same rule and enjoy the same legalized status. Only thus can we tread the path of democracy traversed by the United States and Great Britain, and establish a model democratic state in the Far East. In one word, if we want to attain democracy, we must have the rule of law as the foundation of constitutional government and the Constitution as the safeguard of the people. Disreputable practices like the employment of armed force in political controversy and the seizure of territory in defiance of Government orders are relics of the days of the warlords. They should not be found in a modern democratic state and could not be tolerated in national rebuildings. Only when domestic problems are peacefully solved by political means and all shades of opinion observe the law of the country can we avoid the mistakes made in the early days of the Republic and establish a great charter worthy of the heroic efforts of our revolutionary martyrs and the freedom loving people during the past fifty years. This is the only policy for our Government and represents the most urgent need of the nation.

Third, national unity is the absolute requirement of a modern state. After the war, our national unity will have a strong guarantee in the support of the entire people. We know that national unity insured victory in war. We must realize also that national unity is the prerequisite of democracy and constitutionalism. Only a united nation can reap fully the fruits of victory. Only a united nation can safeguard democracy, mobilize the people's will and strength, and protect its independence and integrity. Only a united nation can

*The abolition of press censorship throughout the country was officially announced on March 7, 1946.

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accomplish the task of national reconstruction and contribute to international peace and world prosperity.

The most important condition for national unity is the nationalization of all armed forces in the country. There should be no private army within the country's boundary, nor should armed forces be kept by any political party. Only when armed forces are no longer directed by personal interests or individuals, no longer guided by the private wishes of a political party, can national unity be secured. On behalf of the Government, I solemnly state today that all armed forces, if they submit to recognition by the Government, shall receive the same treatment without discrimination. The Kuomintang branch headquarters, which existed in the armed units during the past twenty years, have been entirely abolished as the first step toward the nationalization of the armed forces. We hope that the whole nation will realize that the unity of military command and integrity of political authority is a factor that determines the survival or extinction of a country. We hope that they will, with concerted effort, bring about and safeguard this integrity. With the greatest sincerity I make this appeal for the future of our country and our people.

The three points above mentioned are the least that we should accomplish at present. They are very important requisites. If all our people recall the past history of revolution and take to heart the lessons we have learned during the War of Resistance we shall be able to appreciate that destruction must be followed by construction. Only thus can the sufferings and sacrifices sustained during the time of destruction be made good. In the last eight years large numbers of our peoples in the occupied areas were forced out as refugees who are yet unable to return to their homes. Many had suffered untold hardships and are waiting for relief. Care must be especially given to the disabled soldiers and the widows and orphans of those who have laid down their lives for their country. As to all people in the interior provinces, those who joined the military services have not been able to do their duty toward their families and those who were engaged in production had shouldered heavy burdens. Our task in the future is not only to return from a war footing to a peace footing but also to replace unemployment with employment. Our foundation as a modern state is the weakest among the United Nations.

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Our War of Resistance was the longest compared with that of any other member of the United Nations. It is not only necessary for us to unite with one soul and one heart in order to build a modern state on the ruins of war but also to increase our national strength in order to shoulder the responsibility jointly with the other United Nations in promoting international peace and world prosperity.

Following great and heartbreaking destruction, we now face the stupendous task of national reconstruction. We feel more than ever the magnitude of the task before us and the immensity of the responsibility. I sincerely hope that the entire nation will work as one man and fulfill the important requirements. In the past, our emphasis was first and foremost on military affairs and on victory. In the future, we should give our first attention to national unity and democracy. Only by national reconstruction and by realizing, through unity and democracy, the Three People's Principles as taught by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, can we build up national strength and attain, for the people of our country, a life of happiness and health. The objective of fifty years devoted to our National Revolution and the goal of eight years of War of Resistance are reached when we achieve this great final success.

We should, with a spirit of cordial co-operation, face the ruins and sufferings entailed by eight years of war and strive for national recovery. We must in a spirit of self-sacrifice and self-reliance make China an equal member in the family of free and modern nations, and satisfy the hopes of our foreign well-wishers.

As I recall today the aim of our War of Resistance, remember our loyal and brave martyrs, thank the friendly countries for all their help, and bear in mind the sufferings endured by our people, I am overwhelmed by emotion. It is with great emotion that I make public to our people the policy of the Government and earnestly hope that we all may with great sincerity and honesty shoulder jointly the heavy responsibility, fulfill the aspiration of the nation and complete the task of national reconstruction for which the entire nation has fought so long and so valiantly.

Epilogue

The Northeast — Fourteen Years After

On September 18, 1931, Japan attacked the city of Mukden and began her invasion of China's Three Northeastern Provinces (Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang), commonly known as Manchuria. The following is a radio message to the nation on the fourteenth anniversary of the Mukden incident. Though delivered after the end of the war, this message is included here as a fitting conclusion to Generalissimo Chiang's own account of China's war, and should be read in conjunction with the first speech in this collection.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1945.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN:

TODAY is the fourteenth anniversary of the Mukden incident, our national humiliation day. We are commemorating this anniversary in a different spirit as compared with the previous thirteen anniversaries, for we have today wiped out completely all the humiliation we have suffered at the hands of the Japanese during the past five years. With the military assistance of our ally, Soviet Russia, the Cairo and the Potsdam declarations have been realized and our Northeastern Provinces liberated and our countrymen there brought back into the fold of the fatherland. In the near future our administrative officials and armed forces will proceed to the Northeast to join the celebrations of our countrymen who have been separated from us for thirteen odd years. Now with a solemn and jubilant heart, I extend to our countrymen in the Northeast my warmest greetings. During the past fourteen years after the loss of the Northeastern Provinces, we have never for a day forgotten the sufferings of our countrymen there and our responsibility of recovering our lost territory.

At the outset our Government resorted to the policy of recovering our lost territory by diplomatic means, at the same time prepara-

tions were made for the attainment of this end by force. For the sake of carrying out this policy, our Government was for years subjected to adverse criticism and intolerable calumnies.

On this day when our territory has been recovered, I do not deem it necessary to relate the things that have gone. What is more, it is the duty of all of us who have dedicated our lives to the Revolution to bear whatever blames and criticisms that are directed against us. However, they can in no way harm us. It must be pointed out that, at the time of the Mukden incident, we were not adequately prepared, and the time for armed resistance was not ripe.

I trust that all my fellow countrymen in the Northeast fully understand what has happened during the past fourteen years. Since the loss of the Northeastern Provinces, our Government has never for a moment forgotten the sufferings of our people in the occupied territory and has spared no effort in rallying the entire nation behind the task of recovering the Northeast.

Since the War of Resistance broke out on July 7, 1937, the Government has repeatedly made known its resolve not to give up the fight until the Northeast is liberated. The aim of our War of Resistance, from beginning to end, has been to preserve our national independence and territorial integrity. In other words, we were determined to overcome all hardships to dedicate ourselves to the task of recovering our lost territory and to liberate our people in bondage in order to erase all the humiliation we had experienced since the Mukden incident.

On my part, I have since the Mukden incident considered it my duty to revenge the national humiliation. Thanks to the spiritual guidance of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Father of the Republic, and the heroic sacrifices of our fallen warriors, the policy of the Government as well as my own wishes have been fulfilled.

Today is really a day of celebration, for it marks the transformation of an anniversary of the worst humiliation that we have had to swallow into a day commemorating the recovery of the Northeastern Provinces and Formosa.

But I should like to remind our countrymen, especially those in the Northeastern Provinces, that the task of reconstructing these liberated provinces still lies ahead of us. We should not relax for a moment the indomitable spirit that we have shown in our efforts of

the last fourteen years for recovering the aforesaid provinces. We should not forget our past hardships. We should bear in mind the lessons we have learned from our past misfortunes in order to make our victory and liberation of the Northeastern Provinces a true fortune for our nation, thus proving ourselves worthy of the hopes that our allies place in us. Only in this way can we justify our celebration.

I have said before that the September 18th incident was the cause of subsequent world unrest and that in view of the present world situation, it is clear that the Northeastern Provinces were not only related to the continued existence of China, but also closely interwoven with the peace of the world, indicating that the question, because of its repercussions on this whole international situation, should be settled in company with all the other international problems.

This demonstrates that the cause of our sacred War of Resistance against Japan and the Second World War must be traced back to the Mukden incident. Therefore, it is fitting and proper that the liberation of the Northeastern Provinces should mark the end of the World War.

Analyzing the onrush of successive waves of Japanese aggressions and our tenacity and fortitude backed by justice in the light of the international situation, the law of success and failure becomes as clear as crystal.

We have to look into the cause that brought about the Mukden incident so that the victory we have won may be victory in the true sense of the word and eliminate once for all the evils that threaten our nation and the whole world. Besides Japanese imperialistic designs, we must admit that our own laxity with regard to the representation and consolidation of the Northeastern Provinces also constituted one of the causes.

Now that our sacred War of Resistance and World War II have been concluded with the liberation of our Northeastern Provinces, it is time that we rectify our past mistakes and concentrate all our energy on the reconstruction of these provinces.

Furthermore, the gigantic task of building up the Northeast will not only safeguard world peace but will have an important bearing on the task of Revolution. When the First World War broke out, I went to the Northeast. There I was engaged in revolutionary

activities and made a study of that region. In my report to Dr. Sun Yat-sen, I said that the Northeast was not the starting place of our Revolution but it would be the goal of the Revolution. Thirty years have now elapsed, but my words are still true. The development at present and in the future will bear testimony to my words.

The War of Resistance was necessary in the secondary stage of the Revolution. During the past eight years of struggle, our soldiers and our allies laid down their lives and shed their blood at the front, the people in the enemy-occupied areas lost their homes, and those in the interior gave what they had. We have finally won the war. Now that the Northeast is restored to us, we have to value the accomplishment and safeguard it. We should endure all hardships and devote ourselves to the task of reconstruction so that our revolutionary martyrs and soldiers may not have died in vain.

I am now presenting to you a report on the reconstruction of the Northeastern Provinces. The report is divided into two categories. First, we have to develop our own power in the establishment of a firm basis for reconstruction. Secondly, we must solicit Allied assistance for a successful accomplishment of the task.

In the first category the most urgent task confronting us is political renovation. For fourteen years, the Northeastern Provinces were under Japanese occupation and had been reduced to a status similar to that of Korea which had long been subjected to enslavement. Following the recovery of these provinces, we must, first of all, make the people realize our bright political prospects. For this reason, the Government is establishing a provisional headquarters of the chairmen of the National Military Council preparatory to taking over the administrative organization there. Further strengthening and facilitating the administration of the provinces, the Government has also divided Liaoning, Heilungkiang and Kirin into nine provinces. This step was taken in order to speed up the reconstruction work. Particular care has been taken in the appointment of Government officials for service in these provinces and only those who were thoroughly acquainted with the local situation are eligible.

Next comes economic reconstruction. I have pointed out that there are about 240,000,000 mow of arable land and about 200,000,000 mow of land still awaiting cultivation. Prerequisite to our national

existence and our transition to a modern nation are abundant resources of metals and non-metal minerals that are indigenous to the land there. The Northeastern Provinces were also considered the pivotal center in the reconstruction plans mapped out by Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

The communications system in the Northeastern Provinces has been satisfactorily developed and immense help can be derived therefrom for the industrial development of the provinces. The Government has decided to industrialize the provinces in reliance on the resources indigenous to the land and utilize those which have already been exploited for the establishment of a model zone in accordance with the plans laid down by the Father of the Republic. The Government is also determined to extirpate all systems of organization set up by the Japanese in the past fourteen years which have mercilessly exploited our people so that the economic potentiality of the provinces may be galvanized into life at an early date.

Thirdly, there must be re-establishment of culture. In the past years, the Japanese had forced slave education on our people, using the Japanese language as the first tongue and restricting the activities of the educated class in a diabolical scheme to suffocate our culture as well as to erase our national language. Now we are prepared to remove these malicious fetters and to re-establish the culture of the Northeastern Provinces as part and parcel of our national culture.

I have elucidated above the three points, namely, political renovation, economic development and cultural re-establishment as the basis on which the Northeastern Provinces will be rehabilitated. I assure you that the Government will spare no effort in carrying out these points. It is also the earnest desire of the Government that the people of the Northeastern Provinces will seriously meditate upon their past defects and mistakes and start a new life, inexorably eradicating corruption and selfishness and feudalistic schemes. We must distinguish white from black and build up new, modernized Northeastern Provinces.

With regard to Allied assistance in the reconstruction of our Northeastern Provinces, so far as economic aid and technical collaboration are concerned, we have already concluded a friendly pact with the Soviet Union for a period of thirty years. By virtue

of the pact the geographical contiguity will first bring the desired benefits to them. We must honestly observe the past and wholeheartedly co-operate with our friendly neighbor for the improvement of the already amicable relations between the two great nations, thereby realizing the principle of joint struggle enunciated by the Father of the Republic.

The above is a gist of the program for the reconstruction of our Northeastern Provinces. It is also the aim of the people of the Chinese Republic. While observing the fourteenth anniversary of the September 18th incident, we must know the onerous task that is facing us. The September 18th humiliation is no more. Its grave lesson will and must linger in the minds of our posterity. There is only one way to counteract this somber lesson, that is, to erase the lesson by hard facts and actual results. Without this determination, a successful erasure of humiliation would be impossible and our sacrifices would have been in vain. Only by unswerving determination can the root of future evil be extirpated and my assertion made in 1921 that the Northeastern Provinces are the final destination of our Revolution be realized.

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